

THE FORUM AND THE CITY: RETHINKING
CENTRALITY IN ROME AND POMPEII
(3RD CENTURY B.C. – 2ND CENTURY A.D.)

By
DAVID JOHN NEWSOME

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
For the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
January 2010

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis details the development of fora in Rome and Pompeii in order that our understanding of these spaces as ‘centres’ accounts for their changing relationship with the city, between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D. It is a diachronic study of spatial practice and the representation of space, based on archaeological evidence for infrastructures of movement and textual evidence for the articulation of spatial concepts.

Having asserted the importance of movement in shaping the perception of space in antiquity, this thesis details the changes to the physical disposition, the management of access, and the representation of fora. It concludes that while the centrality of the Forum Romanum was related to its potential for through movement, access was increasingly restricted in the late-first century B.C. This changing disposition of public space informed the development of the imperial fora, which in turn informed the development of fora outside of the city of Rome. Fora changed from shortcuts to obstacles in the city; from spaces of movement *through* to spaces of movement *to*.

This represents a fundamental redefinition of their relationship with the city of which they were a part, and of their ‘centrality’ in both practice and representation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Financial support for this research was provided by a School of Historical Studies Postgraduate Research Scholarship from the University of Birmingham. My supervisors, Ray Laurence and Simon Esmonde Cleary, put up with my enthusiasm for reading when I should have been writing, for pursuing tangents not in this thesis and for confidently setting off down the occasional dead-end. I appreciate their patience over the final months in particular.

There is a vibrant research community in Birmingham and I thank all other members of the IAA who have helped me along the way, in particular Diana Spencer (for stimulating chats about all sorts), Gareth Sears (for teaching opportunities) and all of the usual suspects from the IAA Forum and the PG Study Room (for collegiality and coffee). Most thanks are due to Neil Allies, who has read many drafts, offered many suggestions and helped with many translations. There are many colleagues from other institutions whom I am now lucky to count as friends, in particular Francesco Trifilò and Hanna Stöger.

I thank The British School at Rome for a brief but productive stay in March and April 2008, and the offices of the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma, the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei for allowing me to pursue my research. Thanks to the tireless Maria Pia Malvezzi, who obtained the necessary *permessi*, and the *custode* who opened the gates. I have benefited from the enthusiasm and criticism of editorial boards over the last three years and in particular would like to thank Prof. Eric M. Moormann and the BABesch Foundation for their generous hospitality in Leiden, October 2008. Thanks to the library staff in Birmingham, London (Institute of Classical Studies; British Library), Oxford (Bodleian; Sackler) and Rome (British School at Rome).

As well as thanks to those already mentioned, different parts of this work have benefited from discussions or contact with: Virginia L. Campbell; Martin G. Conde; James L.

Franklin jr.; Penny Goodman; John Humphrey; Valentin Kockel; Roger Ling; Paola Olivetti; Jeroen Poblome; Lucrezia Ungaro; Peter Wiseman, all the people who asked difficult questions at conferences, and all of the authors involved in the forthcoming *Rome, Ostia and Pompeii: Movement and Space*, in particular Jeremy Hartnett, Elizabeth Macaulay Lewis and Eric Poehler. In accordance with the terms and conditions of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, I hereby acknowledge Elizabeth Macaulay Lewis' agreement that I might cite her doctoral thesis in this present study (consulted: August 2009).

Finally, I thank Amy and all of my family for the kind of support and encouragement that makes choosing conspicuous examples unnecessary. I would not have made it this far without my grandparents and I hope they would have enjoyed the end result.

gratias vobis ago

CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	4
1.2	RESEARCH CONTEXT	9
1.2.1	Theory.....	10
1.2.2	Making Movement Meaningful for Roman Urbanism.....	17
1.2.3	Movement and the Interpretation of the Imperial Fora	23
1.3	CASE STUDIES	28
1.4	OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS	34
2.	MOVEMENT AND THE DEFINITION OF PLACE	36
2.1	CENTRALITY AS CONCEIVED SPACE	36
2.2	CENTRALITY AS A PROCESS.....	45
2.3	<i>LOCUS CONSIDERATUR</i> : MOVEMENT AND SPACE	48
2.4	<i>LOCUS CELEBERRIMUS</i> AS AN OFFICIAL DECREE AND A SOCIAL RESPONSE	51
2.5	<i>LOCI CELEBERRIMI</i> AND THE CONNECTIVITY OF CENTRAL ROME	67
2.6	<i>LOCI CELEBERRIMI</i> AND THE IMPERIAL FORA	77
2.7	CONCLUSIONS	81
3.	THE FORUM ROMANUM	84
3.1	DOWNTOWN, <i>IN MEDIA URBIS</i>	88
3.2	THE FORUM ROMANUM AS SHORTCUT.....	97
3.3	THE CONNECTIVITY OF THE FORUM ROMANUM.....	102
3.3.1	The Spaces Without.....	104
3.3.2	The Spaces of Transition	131
3.4	RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT IN THE FORUM ROMANUM.....	147
3.4.1	<i>Saepta iugera forensia</i>	152
3.4.2	Permanent and temporary barriers to movement.....	156
3.4.3	The <i>aedes Divi Iuli</i> and the <i>aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae</i>	162
3.5	CONCLUSIONS	169
4.	THE IMPERIAL FORA	174
4.1	THE IMPACT OF THE IMPERIAL FORA ON EXISTING STREETS AND SPACES	176
4.1.1	55 -2 B.C.: The Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum.....	177
4.1.2	A.D. 81-96: The Forum Nervae and Porticus Absidata	193
4.1.3	A.D. 95-113: The Forum Traiani and the Markets of Trajan	206

4.2	MOVEMENT TO AND MOVEMENT THROUGH THE IMPERIAL FORA	228
4.2.1	Moving Through: the through movement potential of the imperial fora	229
4.2.2	Moving To: the accessibility of the imperial fora	233
4.2.3	Movement and nomenclature: <i>Forum Transitorium</i>	243
4.3	CONCLUSIONS.....	246
5	POMPEII	250
5.1	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORUM: 1 ST CENTURY B.C. – A.D. 79	252
5.1.1	Julio-Claudian changes:.....	256
5.1.2	Changes between A.D. 62-79	266
5.2	DESCRIBING CHANGE: THE CHANGING INTEGRATION OF POMPEII’S FORUM	272
5.3	THE FRESCOES FROM THE <i>PRAEDIUM</i> OF IULIA FELIX.....	278
5.3.1	Animals and vehicles.....	279
5.3.2	Entrances and exits	282
5.4	CONCLUSIONS.....	283
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	309

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Movement above the area of the reinforced substructures (beneath point A): Left, plan; Right, mapped as points. .	26
Figure 2 The <i>locus celeberrimus</i> of the <i>Septizodium</i> in relation to its local context	58
Figure 3 <i>CIL</i> VI 31883, <i>Basilica Iulia</i> , Forum Romanum.....	61
Figure 4 <i>CIL</i> VI 31884, <i>Basilica Iulia</i> , Forum Romanum.....	62
Figure 5 Gatteschi's reconstruction of the <i>vicus Tuscus</i>	63
Figure 6 The area to the northwest of the Forum Romanum in the Republic.....	69
Figure 7 Pasquino at the corner of Piazza di Pasquino.....	70
Figure 8 View looking east towards the Forum Romanum from the <i>clivus Argentarius</i>	71
Figure 9 Fragment 18a of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i>	73
Figure 10 Map of named <i>loci celeberrimi</i> to the east of the Forum Romanum.	76
Figure 11 The Forum Romanum	84
Figure 12 <i>Veduta di Piazza di Spagna</i>	86
Figure 13 The location of the Forum Romanum.	89
Figure 14 The relief of the Forum Romanum basin.	93
Figure 15 View looking east up the <i>Sacra via</i> from beyond the <i>Regia</i>	96
Figure 16 Plan of the streets around the Forum Romanum	103
Figure 17 The Forum Romanum in context	104
Figure 18 Section of the basalt paving of the <i>clivus ad Carinas</i>	106
Figure 19 Fragment 15ab of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i>	108
Figure 20 Plan showing the gradient of the <i>clivus ad Carinas</i>	111
Figure 21 Augustan street network near the later <i>Meta Sudans</i>	116
Figure 22 Reconstruction of the Augustan <i>compitum</i> east of the Forum Romanum	119
Figure 23 Hypothetical reconstruction of the Neronian <i>Sacra via</i>	120
Figure 24 View looking south along the <i>vicus Tuscus</i>	122
Figure 25 Renaissance drawing of fragment 18d of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i>	126
Figure 26 View looking south towards the <i>vicus Iugarius</i>	128
Figure 27 The <i>compitum Acilii</i>	130
Figure 28 Relief of Marcus Aurelius' triumph.	132
Figure 29 Plan of the remains around the <i>Arcus Augusti</i>	139
Figure 30 Comparison between the paving between the <i>Arcus Augusti</i> and the <i>aedes Divi Iuli</i>	141
Figure 31 The area at the east of the forum which was closed to vehicle traffic.	142
Figure 32 Detail of a relief from the Arch of Constantine showing the <i>Arcus Tiberii</i>	143
Figure 33 View looking north showing location of <i>Arcus Tiberii</i>	145

Figure 34 Pozzetti in the Forum Romanum	155
Figure 35 <i>Cancelli</i> from a depiction of a Roman circus.....	156
Figure 36 Remains and coin depiction of the <i>sacrum Cloacinae</i>	163
Figure 37 The <i>aedes Divi Iuli</i> and its <i>rostra</i> on a Hadrianic coin and the <i>Anaglypha Traiani</i>	166
Figure 38 Coins depicting the <i>aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae</i>	168
Figure 39 Section of the <i>Anaglypha Traiani</i> showing the <i>vicus Tuscus</i>	171
Figure 40 The imperial fora.	173
Figure 41 Reconstruction of the <i>clivus Argentarius</i>	182
Figure 42 Augustan paving stones of the <i>Argiletum</i>	185
Figure 43 Plan of the north of the Forum Augustum.....	189
Figure 44 Steps entering the Forum Augustum.	191
Figure 45 The remains of the Porticus Absidata.	196
Figure 46 Fragment 16a of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i>	197
Figure 47 Reconstruction of the Porticus Absidata.	198
Figure 48 Plan of the area of the Porticus Absidata	200
Figure 49 Location of pre-Flavian structures around the Porticus Absidata.	202
Figure 50 Passageway from within the Porticus Absidata, to the Forum Augustum.....	204
Figure 51 View of the stairs at the eastern end of the street adjacent to the Forum Traiani.	209
Figure 52 The via Biberatica.....	210
Figure 53 The area around the Basilica Ulpia: Forma Urbis Romae and axonometric reconstruction.	213
Figure 54 The vaulting beneath the courtyard of Trajan's column	216
Figure 55 Plan of the area around Trajan's Column.	218
Figure 56 Detail showing structures aligned with the discoveries by Boni and Ricci.	219
Figure 57 Detail from <i>Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 F.14.2</i> showing streets around the Markets of Trajan.	221
Figure 58 Reconstruction of evidence for streets north of the imperial fora	223
Figure 59 Hadrianic <i>insula</i> and streets north of the Forum Traiani.....	224
Figure 60 Interpretations of the form of the Forum Traiani.	234
Figure 61 <i>Aureus</i> of A.D. 115 depicting part of the Forum Traiani.	236
Figure 62 The forum at Pompeii, with neighbouring streets highlighted.	250
Figure 63 Earlier streets running into Pompeii's forum.....	254
Figure 64 Original street junction north of the Sanctuary of Apollo.	257
Figure 65 Area west of the forum after the development of the Sanctuary of Apollo.....	259
Figure 66 View looking west along Vicolo degli Scheletri.....	262
Figure 67 Area around the Building of Eumachia and the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus.	264
Figure 68 View looking west showing the upright paving stones on the Via dell'Abbondanza.	265

Figure 69 Plan of the northeast corner of the forum	268
Figure 70 View looking north out of the forum through the arch.	270
Figure 71 Barriers around the forum at Pompeii	272
Figure 72 Map showing the blockages to wheeled traffic in Pompeii.....	277
Figure 73 Fresco from the <i>praedium</i> of Iulia Felix (fr. 1 and 2).	280
Figure 74 Fresco from the <i>praedium</i> of Iulia Felix (fr. 7 and 8).	281
Figure 75 Fresco from the <i>praedium</i> of Iulia Felix (fr. 11).	282
Figure 76 Fresco from the <i>praedium</i> of Iulia Felix (fr. 15).	283
Figure 77 The north wall of the Forum Augustum.....	293
Figure 78 The forum at Paestum.	295
Figure 79 The forum at Volsinii.....	296
Figure 80 The Republican forum at Ostia.	299
Figure 81 The imperial forum at Ostia	300
Figure 82 The paving of the forum at Terracina.	304

SOURCES OF FIGURES

Photographs of the Forum Romanum (figures 3, 4, 15, 24, 26, 30, 33, 39) were taken by the author and are reproduced in this thesis with the consent of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. Photographs of the imperial fora (figures 44, 45, 50, 52, 77) were taken by the author and are reproduced in this thesis with the consent of the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma. Unless otherwise stated, all of these photographs date from March and April 2008. The photograph in figure 8 was provided by Ray Laurence.

The images of fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (figures 19 and 46) were taken or adapted from the Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project (<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu>) and are the property of Stanford University and the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma. They are reproduced in this thesis with express written permission. Figure 9 was adapted from Carettoni *et al. La pianta marmorea di Roma antica: Forma urbis Romae* (1960, Rome) are reproduced in this thesis with the express written permission of the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma.

Figure 18 was kindly provided by Martin G. Conde and is reproduced with permission. Eric E. Poehler produced and provided me with the base plan of Pompeii's forum which I have used in figures 62, 65, 67 and 69, as well as the photo used in figure 68.

The sources of all other images have been identified in the main text.

PREFACE

But as we walked downhill along the street, the sounds that rose from below were different. At the bottom, when we reached the Piazzale Flaminio, the scene that greeted the eye was one of a chaotic, unrecognizable newness - a new set of traffic regulations: every aspect and dimension of the place had been changed and revolutionized. On those new outlines, all across that unprecedented map of mental directives, there huddled a bleating, howling flock of confused vehicles.

The Romans, today, drove cheerfully and confidently up to their *piazzale* and stopped suddenly, as if they had wandered into an unfamiliar place. The transformation triggered in everyone a distressing loss of existential confidence. They no longer recognised the familiar measures of their own personal world. A road, then, existed, or had been created: but in order to find it and avoid getting lost, it was necessary to make appropriate decisions a long time and a great distance in advance. And since, in Rome, those who want to move about tend to follow opportunities, the advance choice is in conflict with the nature of the city, with its very form.

Continuity, stability, and certainty (even in the modest appurtenances of a road surface, of a crowded, noisy street) had been abolished.

Carlo Levi, 'Sorpresa a Roma', *La Stampa*, 1 May 1962.
Trans. A. Shugaar (2005) *Fleeting Rome: In search of the Dolce Vita* (215-7)

During the period of time in which this thesis has been researched and written, the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma have implemented a number of changes to the management of the *centro storico*.

On 10th March 2008, access to the Forum Romanum was, for the first time in the new millennium, subject to an admission charge.¹ In order to successfully and efficiently introduce this charge, points of access had to be altered and controlled. This was achieved by the installation of *biglietterie* at two locations. The principal entrance, in response to the great number of tourists who crowd via dei Fori Imperiali, was placed at the largo della Salara Vecchia, at the junction of the busy via Cavour and via dei Fori Imperiali. From there a short descent leads into the Forum Romanum between the *Basilica Aemilia* and the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae* - a route analogous with the Republican *Corneta*, a street suppressed by Vespasian's construction of the *Templum Pacis* in the mid-70s A.D. The second entrance was added to the eastern slope of the Palatine on via di San Gregorio. The Forum Romanum was joined with the Palatine and Colosseum in a *circuito archeologico* with carefully controlled access.

In order that these *biglietterie* might function as intended, as new entrances were added so too existing ones were closed. This included locking the gate from via di San Teodoro, which corresponded to the route of one of ancient Rome's most well-known thoroughfares, the *vicus Tuscus*. This had entered the Forum Romanum between the *Basilica Iulia* and the *aedes Castoris*, and had formed the main route between this area and the Forum Boarium to the southwest. Another famous approach, from the east along the *Sacra via*, was now blocked by a fence, policed by turnstiles and a security booth. This is not only to prevent access but to manage movement between the three sites in the new circuit. This former entrance is now firmly and only an exit. The formal control of movement around the Arch of

¹ Reported in *Il Tempo*, 30/10/07; *La Repubblica*, 14/2/08.

Titus, which dictates eastbound movement rather than westbound, removes one of the defining historical images of this ancient route: the westbound movement of the triumph. Indeed, in passages of Cicero, Horace or others, the *Sacra via* is intrinsically related to the notion of descent into the Forum from the east, as we will see in Chapter 3. This is still possible, but only if one arrives first via the *clivus Palatinus*. The same is true at the exit to via dell'Arco di Settimio, where previously tourists had descended from the *clivus Argentarius*, which had passed through the *porta Fontinalis*. In both cases, the communicative role of these streets with wider districts of the city is severed, and the direction of movement in the modern forum is a reversal of the characteristic representations known from antiquity. These characteristics were based on perception, shaped by practice.

More recently still, plans for the reorganisation of the space surrounding the Colosseum were announced.² Access will be controlled by a single barrier that demarcates the area surrounding the amphitheatre. The current barriers that prevent access into the Colosseum itself will be replaced by a wider boundary, from the Arch of Constantine, which will itself be liberated from its protective fence, across to the Metro. The plans are designed to enable better policing of the unwanted merchandise vendors who crowd the area, a scheme not without parallels in antiquity, where the cluttering retail units were moved from the square to its borders with the effect that, to one commentator at least, the *dignitas* of the open space of the forum was increased.³ As well as changing the perception of the area, the plan also has consequences for movement. It will create a managed and formally demarcated piazza from a space that is currently open and freely accessible. The barrier will have just two points of entry which are fully controllable and will be accessible only to pedestrians, thus physically preventing the presence of illegal souvenir stalls. The importance which the authorities in

² Reported in *Il Messaggero*, 23/4/09.

³ Varro *ad. Non.* 532, hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit.

Rome have placed upon such *dignitas* is proven by the necessity to introduce a change in the law in order to allow for the removal of vendors.⁴

These changes impact upon the ways in which these spaces relate to the city at large. The north-south axis of the Forum Romanum is an egregious example. Where, in the recent past, the forum could act as a shortcut, from via Cavour across to via di San Teodoro and on to the Forum Boarium, the addition of an entrance gate at the north and the closure of the gate at the south removes this function. The north-south route through the city of Rome now requires a substantial detour if the Forum Romanum fee is to be avoided, and the alternatives require an economy of effort that makes movement either impractical or undesirable. For example, from the junction of via Cavour and via dei Fori Imperiali to the Forum Boarium, one must head north towards Piazza Venezia. The choice is then between distance and effort. The long way around goes by via del Teatro di Marcello and skirts the bottom of the Capitoline hill, before passing the Forum Holitorium and continuing on to the Forum Boarium. The shorter but more physically demanding shortcut, up and over the Capitoline, goes by way of via di San Pietro in Carcere, across the Campidoglio, down the snake of via del Campidoglio – via di Monte Tarpeo and onto via della Consolazione. Only there can one pick up the course of the ancient *vicus Iugarius* and continue, with one final turn, into Piazza della Bocca della Verità: the modern equivalent of the Forum Boarium. Had the Forum Romanum remained open, the route would be a simple shortcut across the open space.

The Forum Romanum has changed from a place that one might move through, to a place that one moves to; from a shortcut to an obstacle. This has implications for how one should evaluate the perception of this space in the city at large. The Forum Romanum is no longer a well integrated route but is a segregated destination. All of this, in a little over three

⁴ Reported in *Corriere della Sera*, 23/11/07. Law 33 (1999) had stipulated that if an itinerant merchant were to be relocated, a location of equal value must be provided.

years, illustrates the historic variability of access and movement in our comprehension of the city.

Before it appears as though we are fixating on modern phenomena, there are parallels in antiquity. With the gradual creation of the imperial fora, the network of space in the centre of Rome was changed dramatically and patterns of movement, once direct and legible, became rerouted. The most obvious example of this trend concerns wheeled traffic, again heading from the north/northeast of the city toward the Tiber. The creation of the Forum Nervae, and then with the addition of the Markets of Trajan, created the final block on what was thereafter a huge pedestrianised zone in the middle of the city, severing pre-existing routes that afforded the central space the very thing that came to define it as such within the wider urban landscape – volumes of movement. The understanding of urban space thus needs to be diachronic and movement needs to be historicised. Such changes force us to engage with how we perceive these spaces and their environs as centres of the Roman city. These themes occupy this thesis.

TERMINUS ANTE QUEM

The author would like to note that this thesis is based upon research with material available until the end of November 2009. As this thesis was being submitted, I was anticipating forthcoming publications and following ongoing projects. I would like to make the reader aware of those here.

The output from the excavations in the imperial fora over the last two decades continues at pace. The results of the latest excavations in the Forum Augustum are currently in press, ostensibly the first of a series of monographs – *Scavi dei Fori Imperiali. Il Foro di Augusto (L'area centrale)*.⁵ These papers will add more data to that already available in the summary of the excavations.⁶ The ongoing excavations for the Metro Linea C continue to unearth valuable data about the street layout around the fora, such as the recently uncovered stretch of the *clivus ad Carinas*, or the data emerging from under Piazza Venezia, of interest to understanding how the imperial fora communicated with the *via Lata*.⁷

While it may be frustrating that we cannot yet integrate that data into this narrative, it is not to the detriment of the thesis as it stands. One has been able to keep a close eye on archaeological developments in the city of Rome through the *Rassegna Stampa* compiled daily by the Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali.⁸ This has been an invaluable research tool in the fight to keep up-to-date against the slow process of archaeological publication.

In addition to these developments in Rome, excavation and survey is ongoing at the forum at Pompeii. The Universität Ausburg, led by Prof. Valentin Kockel, have laser scanned

⁵ Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani forthcoming 2010.

⁶ Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007.

⁷ See <http://www.archeorm.arti.beniculturali.it/sar2000/metroc/index.htm>

⁸ See <http://151.12.58.143/rassegnastampa>. Martin G. Conde, with the support of the academic community, rapidly disseminates information online at http://www.flickr.com/photos/imperial_fora_of_rome/sets

the piazza at 1:50 scale to produce a photogrammetric documentation of the entire forum pavement. The results of their investigations will contribute substantially to how we understand the development of that space. Already there is evidence for the removal of three fountains and an equestrian statue, while investigations in the south of the forum have pushed back traditional dates and confirmed the existence of a barrier separating the municipal buildings from the public space. I thank Prof. Kockel for providing me with updates on this project. The project website can be found at:

[http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/en/lehrstuehle/archaeologie/Forschung/
Forschungsprojekte_Kockel/Forum](http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/en/lehrstuehle/archaeologie/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte_Kockel/Forum)

Studying the Roman city, one becomes accustomed to those outside of the discipline suggesting it must be comforting to study something that ‘does not change’. The evidence in this thesis demonstrates the extent to which this view is misguided. When research on this thesis began, much of what are now key data were not available in print, or were still buried. Our evidence and interpretation change routinely. I look forward to the latest important additions to our knowledge which will help take this research further; be they data that refine our knowledge of the sites discussed, or that allow more confidence in widening the limits (both physical and chronological) of the case studies. For now, the reader can proceed with confidence that the information in this thesis is as up-to-date as is possible from the evidence available.

Birmingham, January 2010.

1 INTRODUCTION

“*Straßen, redet ein Wort*”⁹

In one of his *Fabulae* written in Julio-Claudian Rome, Phaedrus described how the slave Aesop was sent out into the city in order to make preparations for dinner. Having taken a long and circuitous route on his outward journey, and with time against him, Aesop minimised his route home by cutting through the open forum.¹⁰ Routes through the forum were short, while through the streets they were long. Routes through the forum were direct, minimising the round-about nature of paths through the city, and the space was accessible to through movement. For Phaedrus, as for his contemporaries, the forum was perceived and described as a shortcut between other places in the continuous space of the city. Such was the perception, shaped by praxis, in the early first-century A.D.¹¹

Compare this to the early-second century A.D., and the younger Pliny’s characterisation of fora in his panegyric to Trajan. At midpoint in the text, Pliny turned his attention to the *domus Flavia* on the Palatine. His description of the *domus* under Domitian casts the nature of space and accessibility as a direct reflection of the characters of its incumbent.¹² Domitian’s palace shielded the emperor in private chambers behind a thousand

⁹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Romische Elegien*, 1.2 (1795).

¹⁰ Phaedr. *Fab.* 3.19, tum circumeunti fuerat quod iter longius effecit breuius: namque recta per forum coepit redire. I use the Loeb translations throughout this thesis, unless otherwise stated.

¹¹ We can consider this as one of the fables that, more closely resembling contemporary satire, “are firmly rooted in [...] daily life in first-century Rome”, Champlin (2005: 110).

¹² See Zanker (2002: 109); Wataghin Cantino (1966). For the context of the *Panegyricus*, see Radice (1968). On the contrast between Domitian and Trajan in the *Panegyricus*, see Noreña (2007: 247; 250). On imperial accessibility and architecture, Caligula’s plan to connect the Palatine and the Capitoline can be read as an attempt to avoid social interaction in the space between – the Forum Romanum (Suet. *Cal.* 22.4).

doors (*mille liminibus*), a common stereotype of his paranoia which, as in other texts of the period, was imagined as manifest in his organisation of built space.¹³ In contrast, Nerva had opened the *domus* to the public, changing the *principes arcem* into the *aedes publicae*.¹⁴ Public accessibility is a measure of imperial magnanimity, underscored by the explicit link drawn between the text of the inscription and the habits (*mores*) of the new emperor.¹⁵ But the choice of spaces to which Pliny compares the *domus* is worthy of note: “no forum, no temple is so free of access”.¹⁶ Given that fora are ostensibly public spaces, this requires explanation.

The verb Pliny uses – *reserare* – is an unusual choice, occurring only twice more in his surviving corpus: in the first instance to refer to the ‘opening’ of the year; in the second to refer to the ‘opening’ of lips that had been sealed (*obsaepto*) under Domitian’s censorship.¹⁷ In other instances, *resero* refers to the opening of doors that had previously been barred: ‘unbolting’ physical space.¹⁸ Radice’s Loeb translation, provided above, obscures this important point. Rather than stating that no forum or temple is so free of access, Pliny asks: “what temples and what forum have been so reopened (*reserata*)?” The emphasis is on transition, and for this reason the verb – *reserare* – carries more weight than the adjective (e.g. *aditus*, *pervium*). By referring to the forum in these terms, Pliny draws attention not so much to the fact that such spaces were accessible but that they had *not* been so before. All of

¹³ See Suet. *Dom.* 14.4 on Domitian’s porticoes lined with reflective phengite stone (Plin. *HN* 36.163), so that he might see conspirators behind his back. On space and surveillance in Domitian’s Rome, see Frederick (2003).

¹⁴ Plin. *Pan.* 47.4. This change of name is recorded in a commemorative inscription (*ILS* 9358). Trajan, in contrast, is presented as conspicuously accessible to petitioners (*Pan.* 48.1).

¹⁵ Plin. *Pan.* 47.5, Quam bene cum titulo isto moribus tuis convenit.

¹⁶ Plin. *Pan.* 47.5, quod enim forum, quae templa tam reserata?

¹⁷ Plin. *Pan.* 58.3; 66.5. *Obsaepto* referred to the blockage of physical space, in both literary (e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 425, ibi nunc oppido opsaeptast via) and legal texts (e.g. *Lex Iulia Agraria* [50s B.C.] KL III: ne quis eos limites decumani obsaeptos neque quid immolitum neque quid ibi obsaeptum habeto).

¹⁸ See Tib. 1.8.60; Val. Max. 2.10.2; Ov. *Trist.* 5.9.29.

this provides a curious contrast to the nature of fora in Phaedrus' Julio-Claudian period: open, accessible, permeable.

Taking these two opposing characterisations of fora as a starting point, this thesis examines the archaeological and literary evidence pertaining to the use and perception of fora, based on changes to movement and accessibility. It examines the significance of movement in shaping the perception of the urban space and centrality, before seeking an emergent 'urban disposition' in the physical development of fora in Rome and Pompeii. In doing so, through detailed examples it asserts the importance of movement for how we understand these spaces in the city over time.

This thesis is about pedestrians, vehicles and architectures of accessibility and movement to and through the centre of the Roman city. It is about the transformation of urban space and the implications of those changes for how we as historians and archaeologists characterise the Roman city. It is a narrative exercise in reconstructing site chronologies, and an interpretative exercise in understanding why spatial change matters for how we write about urbanism. Diachrony is at the core of the theoretical agenda, the methodological approach and the interpretations offered. It is an attempt to highlight change, and to rethink the way we interpret space. Because this thesis emphasises chronological change, it also allows us to consider how new spaces were conceived according to emergent patterns of space from pre-existing structures. In short, we can examine how architectural form was shaped by and shaped spatial practice, and how spatial practice shaped the perception and representation of the Roman city.

Movement and space are subjects for which there is a broad range of historical evidence, from the physical and archaeological to the representational and textual. It is therefore a subject that allows one to investigate disparate but complementary data in pursuit of a common theme. This thesis consolidates much of the complex and divergent data that has emerged from Rome into a single, thematic narrative: the evolution of patterns of movement

and the relationship between fora and the wider city. The thesis attempts to understand the historical development of these public spaces and explore what new data can be made to say when it is assembled around a common theme and a common set of research questions. It is also an exercise in comparative historical inquiry: comparing the Forum Romanum to the imperial fora; comparing the successive imperial fora with each other; comparing the developments in Rome with those in Pompeii, and finally comparing these with other cities in Roman Italy by way of conclusion. This allows us to consider the role of movement in shaping cultural habits, and in mapping cultural change across time and space.

The rest of this chapter discusses the core research questions that drive this thesis. It then introduces the theoretical approaches and recent works on the Roman city that have similar interests. Finally, the chapter surveys the evidence and case studies that will be used and presents a brief overview of the work.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions in this thesis stem in part from an earlier MA dissertation which applied space syntax analyses to the city of Ostia.¹⁹ One of the issues flagged for further research was the importance of understanding the chronological development of the city's street network.²⁰ The importance of a diachronic reading of space was demonstrated by a

¹⁹ Newsome 2005. Although Ostia is discussed in later chapters, I do not devote a substantial amount of time to the city in this thesis. There are three reasons for this: first, to avoid duplicating work from my earlier MA dissertation; second, to avoid duplication of an ongoing spatial analysis of Ostia's street network (see Stöger forthcoming 2010); third, because the necessary data from recent geophysical surveys has not yet been released for use in research of this kind (but see Heinzelmann 1998; 2002; and Heinzelmann & Martin 2002 for interim reports).

²⁰ Throughout this thesis, I use the term 'street network' rather than 'street system'. 'Network' adequately describes the connected and interrelated configuration of urban streets without suggesting any top-down uniformity upon either the organisation of or practice within those streets, as might be implied with the use of 'system'.

small case study of changes in the fourth century A.D., when the connection between the *Decumanus Maximus* and the *Semita dei Cippi* in Ostia was severed by the insertion of an exedra monument which truncated the former junction.²¹ This had a dramatic effect on patterns of movement at a local level (around *insulae* V.iv-vi); creating dead-ends and detours. Such change needs to be considered in our narratives. Many studies of urban space emphasise the dialectic between two social components, where the patterns in one can be explained by patterns in the other. However, there is the potential problem in the interpretation of spatial relationships that rely on *A* responding to or being influenced by *B*. This is an omission to account for the manner in which the nature of either space changed over time (and often an improper emphasis on the significance of final spatial arrangements that may in fact be quite different to earlier forms which dictated that development). There is a need to assert the chronology of urban space.

With an appreciation that relationships in urban space need to be historicised, so too must the character we attribute to certain spaces. This has two elements: first, to understand the effect of change on movement and traffic on contemporary perceptions of the city, and second, to understand the effect of change on how we as scholars characterise those objects under discussion. This thesis examines a particular representation of space, namely, the concept of ‘centrality’. The discussion is not about Rome as a centre in geopolitical or economic terms of Empire and imperial hegemony; such themes have been well covered in previous scholarship.²² Rather, this is a study of the centre of the city of Rome itself.

As will be developed in Chapter 2, the definition of centrality is based around perceptions and representations of interaction in the city, predicated by urban movement. As

²¹ DeLaine 1995: 98, fig. 5.10; Stöger 2007: 357, fig. 15.

²² The most important being Nicolet 1991, and see more recently Clarke 1999; Purcell 2007. On different resolutions of space we can say that these studies are at the resolution of Empire and the Italian peninsula, and Rome’s central position within it. The key themes have now been summarised by Riggsby 2009.

such, centrality is a ‘topographical construct’; it is relative and subject to change.²³ This brings us to the fulcrum of the thesis, an examination of the evolution of fora with a particular reference to the relationship with the street network of the city and the ways in which movement and traffic could use, or were prevented from using, those spaces; analysing their integration and accessibility.

The discussion of these subjects involves a detailed descriptive and interpretative comparison between the two cities of Rome and Pompeii. Rome – although its archaeology is complex – is a city populated by ancient texts that shed light not only on its topography but on the reception of that topography and patterns of the representation of urban space. Pompeii provides the richest archaeological data we can exploit. The emphasis on local contexts and a paradigm shift away from Rome-centric models of urbanism in recent decades has meant that Pompeii is now more often studied for its own particularities and peculiarities rather than for the diffused *Zeitgeist* of the capital.²⁴ However, Pompeii without Rome is a fallacy. While it is right that Pompeii and Rome cannot be married together, it is wrong that they should be divorced, however implicit this paradigm shift may be.

The detailed chronologies of Pompeii’s forum will be discussed in Chapter 5. It can briefly be stated here that development of public space is among the most obvious candidates for the influence of Rome. Two examples from the borders of the forum that demonstrate this are the Sanctuary of Apollo and the Building of Eumachia. The first of these was heavily rebuilt in the Augustan period; regarded as a response to the fervent patronage of Apollo in Augustan Rome.²⁵ The Building of Eumachia has often been interpreted as an imitation, by one of Pompeii’s leading priestesses, of the *Porticus Liviae*, constructed five years earlier,

²³ This term follows Lim 1999: 265–6.

²⁴ As can be seen in the most recent Anglophone summary of scholarship, Dobbins & Foss 2007, in which Rome is curiously in the background.

²⁵ An Augustan date for the renovation of the sanctuary is favoured by Dobbins *et al.* 1998; Dobbins & Ball 2005: 61–7; Carroll & Godden 2000: 751. Others have considered the final form to be a product of the second century B.C. as Arthur 1986; Guzzo & Pesando 2002: 118–9; Martelli 2002.

with sculptural friezes similar to those of the Ara Pacis.²⁶ But while these interpretations may hold for isolated monuments, there has been no attention paid to the way in which the developments of the forum at Pompeii were influenced by the changing *nature* of space and centrality at Rome. This is one of the core research questions of this thesis and the key theme of Chapter 5, which explains changing urban spaces by reference to the developments in the capital city, detailed in Chapters 3 and 4. Pompeii proves a useful comparison to ascertain to what extent the trends identified in Rome were unique, or to what extent a new concept of central space had begun to establish itself outside the capital.

A second, pervasive theme of this thesis is to look at the representation of spaces and what such representations might tell us about changing concepts of urbanism and centrality in connection to patterns of movement and traffic. Chapter 2 discusses the use of the term *locus celeberrimus* and attempts to determine whether or not any one type of space was more frequently associated with this term. Pierre Gros has noted that “il est presque impossible de définir les raisons pour lesquelles tel ou tel monument ou espace se voit temporairement élevé au statut de *locus celeberrimus*”, but there are trends in the evidence which can aid our interpretations.²⁷ Chapter 2 addresses this and similar problems.

While the discussion of *locus celeberrimus* and similar spatial terms considers textual representations of movement and space, we can also include visual representations. If, following the framework established in Chapter 2, we define centrality according to movement then we can consider the depiction of movement or the infrastructure of movement in various media. In particular, in this discussion we encounter depictions of the space of the forum in Rome (the *Anaglypha Traiani*), and in Pompeii (the frescoes from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix). It should be stated that this thesis is not an art historical examination of the depiction of urban space in visual media, and so less attention is paid to this evidence than to

²⁶ Richardson 1978a: 268; D’Arms 1988: 53–4. See also Najbjerg 2002 for comparisons with the so-called basilica at Herculaneum.

²⁷ Gros 2005: 191.

the archaeological and textual data. Such themes are presented among the broader discussion, rather than occupying a single chapter. Moreover, the nature of streets and open spaces as ‘voids’ made them difficult to depict on visual media such as coins. As Favro states, despite their conceptual power in the city, they lacked “iconic power.”²⁸ There was no single manner of depicting the Forum Romanum that might enter the Roman visual lexicon, because it was not a space with a coherent image, unlike the buildings within it. It is for this reason that depictions of such public spaces tend to show parts – temples, surrounding arches, equestrian statues – rather than the whole.

We can summarise the research questions of the thesis as follows:

- How have scholars defined urban centrality and is this congruent with Roman attitudes to space? (Chapter 2)
- How was the Forum Romanum perceived in relation to movement, and to what extent was its development related to the management of that movement? (Chapter 3)
- To what extent did the development of the imperial fora reflect the conscious design of those emergent cultural habits of restricted movement in public space into the physical disposition of the fora in relation to their environs? (Chapter 4)
- Are the trends identified at Rome repeated in other Italian cities? (Chapters 5 and 6)
- Do changing representations of space reflect changes to the way space was conceived and, in turn, how were concepts of space related to the changes we can reconstruct in spatial practice? (throughout and Chapter 6)

The core of the argument is that as a relative topographical construct, the definition of centrality is nuanced and historically contingent. The claim is not that fora were not centres, or necessarily became less so over time, but that centrality requires rethinking and that change must be interpreted as well as described. The aim is to see how the physical development of

²⁸ Favro 2006: 25.

those fora related to a particular issue, namely, movement. Given the theoretical and evidential justification for prioritising patterns of movement in definitions of centrality, it stands to reason that changes to the former must change the latter.

1.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

Having outlined the core research questions of this thesis, it is worth considering in more detail the research context. In particular, we can highlight developments in urban spatial theory and Roman archaeology that have informed the present work. This thesis is one of numerous works that have focused attention on Roman urban space. It is also among a growing number that includes or is based upon the role of movement in understanding the ancient city. The research context has three principle considerations: the theoretical agenda; trends in the study of the Roman city; and the increment of evidence. We can consider the first two of these here, before in the following section considering how the extent and availability of evidence has informed the choice of the case studies.

This work is an evidence-driven thesis, not just a theoretical exercise.²⁹ Engagement with theoretical debates is useful for the study of Roman urban form, but not at the expense of interpretation that could not be otherwise verified from historical material alone.³⁰ However, since evidence is used to address particular questions which are themselves constructed in advance by the author, it is important to be clear about the theoretical frameworks that in turn influence the type of questions asked.

Evidence finds its relevance and its importance when it is interpreted and set in context. Filippo Coarelli rightly warned against “the impropriety of using out of context data of diverse origins; for this procedure destroys the original significance of the data, which can

²⁹ For an example where the balance may be said to have tipped too far toward theory at the expense of detailed interpretation of the archaeology, see Grahame 2000 on the houses of Pompeii’s *Regio* VI.

³⁰ For a more systematic examination of spatial theory see Newsome 2009a.

then be made to fit almost any system”.³¹ This is not an argument against interdisciplinary inquiry or comparative evidence but, in its wider context, an acknowledgment that unrelated data can be convincingly worked into a single narrative. There is a fine line between coincidence and congruence. On the one hand, this is what makes historical inquiry rewarding and what can make arguments built on complementary data convincing. On the other, it is why we must be clear about the ‘system’ into which we are fitting our data. Coarelli’s landmark works on the Forum Romanum were rather less transparent than his earlier warning might have implied, suggesting that some solutions seem to emerge “quasi naturalmente”.³² But there is no natural solution to the interpretation of the past, only constructions. This is expressly acknowledged in one of Coarelli’s more recent statements: “It is not just a mere question of philology, supported by more or less explicit evidence, but a precise overall vision that provides information and inevitably conditions our choices and conclusions”.³³ What is the precise overall vision of this thesis?

1.2.1 Theory

We can begin by setting this vision in its theoretical context. Although the use of spatial theory in Roman studies has been criticised, we can reiterate that it does not provide determining directions for our research but acts as a useful aid for the interpretation of otherwise contextualised data.³⁴ Fundamental to the interpretation of the development of fora is the theory that movement and access are social variables. As such, they are politically and culturally significant: divergent privileges of access are one of the most conspicuous and

³¹ Coarelli 1977: 1.

³² Coarelli 1976-77: 352; 1983: 9.

³³ Coarelli 2005: 24-5.

³⁴ See criticisms in Allison 2001, for example 199: “I am perplexed that a Roman historian would use a philosophers perceptions of the nature of space in the Roman world to set the framework for an investigation of that space”. Laurence 2004: 104–6 offers a rebuttal.

readily understandable differentiators between members of the same society. As we will see with examples from the Roman period, architecture enables the embodiment of cultural concepts and hierarchies of accessibility into the physical space of the city. As movement takes place within specific architectural milieux, which are conceived and designed before they are used, we can link movement to idealism: the control of movement and the restriction of accessibility not only reveal spatial practice but also the permissible forms of practice. Examining the historical development of public space with this emphasis allows one to see the ‘logic’ of space over time, or as we will see in Chapter 2, ‘the urban disposition’.³⁵ This framework comes from a rich vein of sociological thinking in recent decades which has asserted the political role of space. This paradigm shift has been homogenised under the heading of ‘the Spatial Turn’: a more critical approach to space as a cultural artefact.³⁶ Accordingly, space can no longer be taken for granted, and what might seem culturally common-sense or self-evident attributions must be contextualised and recognised as subjective constructions.³⁷

In this context, centrality can be reconsidered. We will engage with this in more detail in Chapter 2, but here we can introduce the concept that the perception and representation of space is informed by the practices associated with that space. This removes space, and associated conceptual terms like centrality, from objective definitions and instead emphasises variability. However, we must be wary in pursuing the relative construction of and response to space too far, for danger of failing to make useful generalisations of our data. As had been noted, “the challenge is to put some overall interpretative frame” around spatial practice and

³⁵ Newsome forthcoming 2011a will survey architectural theory in archaeology.

³⁶ On this term, see Soja 2000: 7. Newsome 2009a: 25-6 provides additional summary. Harvey 1980: 201-3 discusses the emergence of space as the dominant concern in the mid-twentieth century.

³⁷ Harvey 1980: 203.

representation.³⁸ The interpretative frame put around the data is that changes to the physical space of the fora necessarily reshape the possible uses of those spaces; this in turn reshapes the perception and so the representation of those spaces. Archaeology and text work together to provide a spatial analysis of movement – its design, its practicality and its influence on perceptions of the city. This is not necessarily to say that spatial practice is dictated by spatial form, but to emphasise that representations of space are constituted by spatial processes.³⁹ This follows the work of Henri Lefebvre, who was influential in developing a conceptual triad of space, the framework of which helps to compartmentalise some of the issues in this thesis.⁴⁰ We can think in terms of: i) spatial practice - the movement of traffic through the reality of physical urban space; ii) representations of space – maps and plans, including architectural designs, showing how space was conceived; iii) spaces of representation – writings about space, showing how space was perceived.⁴¹

In terms of the research questions this thesis asks, we can therefore frame them around practice and representation. Spatial infrastructure (the physical objects: streets, sidewalks, steps, doors) allows us to infer spatial practice, if at least by excluding those types of user that were prevented from accessing certain spaces. Architectural forms allow us to see representations of space – they demonstrate how patterns of space were conceived and built. For this reason, the comparison between the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora not only

³⁸ Harvey 1980: 211. See Stenton 2007 on representation and the difficulties of reconciling historical fact with imagined descriptions of space.

³⁹ On the appropriation of public space by its users, see Trifilò 2009.

⁴⁰ Given the limits on this thesis, it is not desirable to review the formation of this theory or its criticisms in subsequent social theory here. For responses to Lefebvre, see Shields 1999 and Elden 2004. In the context of classical scholarship, see Laurence 1997; Hitchcock 2008: 164–8. Newsome 2009a: 25-9, with bibliography, critiques Lefebvre's concepts of centrality in ancient Rome.

⁴¹ The English translation of Lefebvre's spatial triad leaves something to be desired in terms of the distinction between 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation'. In short, the former is space as it is conceived, the latter is how it is perceived. This distinction is more immediately comprehensible in Lefebvre's French terms: *l'espace conçu* and *l'espace vécu*.

offers a *longue durée* examination of urban movement but also helps to see how the latter are consciously designed to repeat or change the cultural habits of the former. To this we can also add such evidence as the marble plans of Rome, both the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae* and its antecedents, which show how the space of the city was conceived for the purposes of representation.⁴² Finally, our knowledge of how space was perceived can be found in literary and epigraphic texts and in visual depictions of urban space. Our evidence is varied and cumulative, and seeks to examine the relationship between urban space as a physical state and as a conceptual and perceptual construct. Traffic flow is the process of physical agents using a network, or infrastructure, of movement. In so being, traffic is a social as well as spatial network. This network defines relations between people and things. It sets the physical boundaries and the permitted frameworks of interaction, and it manifests a concept of space – an urban disposition – that reveals not only how people structure physical space but their place within it.

As this thesis is concerned with urban movement, “traffic” constitutes a key element. It is necessary to clarify what is meant by this seemingly uncomplicated term. As I noted in response to one of the recent works on traffic in the Roman city, we do not have a detailed definition of “traffic” from our ancient sources.⁴³ Instead of a single concept, we find an array of verbs relating to movement (e.g. *ambulare*; *currere*; *transire*; *vehere*). Where road users are discussed, more commonly we find either the plural form of different types of vehicles (though curiously, we rarely have a single passage that mentions more than one type of vehicle in the *same* street) or, for large numbers of mobile pedestrians, we find their

⁴² Although the chronological window of this thesis is to the end of the second century A.D., the inclusion of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (A.D. 205) is legitimate on the grounds that it reveals how existing space was perceived. See Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 301-12 for a recent overview. Rodríguez-Almeida 2002 provides the most detailed discussion of the Severan and pre-Severan marble plans of the city. For possible functions, see Taub 1993 and Trimble 2007.

⁴³ Newsome 2008: 444 on van Tilburg 2007.

compression into a single, homogenous group – the *turba*.⁴⁴ The sheer number of road users is a familiar trope in the dystopian visions of ancient Rome, but volume of users is not necessarily the same as our use of the term “traffic”, which is not only descriptive but perceptual. In part, this reflects the difficulty of applying a modernist term (and its associated urban sensibilities) to the ancient city in lieu of an identifiable ancient equivalent. We can recognise infrastructures and infer practice accordingly but the blanket transference of terms and themes is problematic.⁴⁵ The issue is not so much that there were not equivalents in the ancient city but that, by looking for those equivalents within frameworks of urbanism that are entirely modern, we risk losing sight of the dominant paradigms of urban movement and the management of infrastructure in antiquity.

“Traffic”, in this thesis, can refer to both pedestrian movement and the movement of vehicles.⁴⁶ Where necessary this distinction is explicit. In modern contexts, traffic is almost exclusively applied to patterns of vehicle movement, and is more often than not used to express a build up of vehicles that is detrimental to movement. At this point it is worth addressing the important issue of the regulation of vehicle traffic in the city of Rome.

The volume of road users in ancient Rome has attracted attention because of passages in a Caesarian legal text – the *lex Iulia Municipalis* (often called the *Tabula Heracleensis*) – which imposed restrictions on the types of vehicle traffic that was permissible within the city of Rome, and in what contexts; such as the banning of ‘vehicles’ from the city until the tenth

⁴⁴ Juv. *Sat.* 3.239; Sen. *Cl.* 1.6.1. See Sofroniew 2006 for an overview of *turba*, largely playing on Juvenalian negative associations, on the derivation from τυρβη – ‘disorder’.

⁴⁵ It has been noted that the scholarly reconstruction of the Roman city has as much to do with the transference of the urban context of the scholar than with the recovery of the context of the ancient inhabitant (Laurence 1994 = 2007: 11-7; 1994 *passim*).

⁴⁶ Newsome 2008: 444 broadly defines traffic as the aggregation of pedestrians and vehicles in a particular locale at a particular time.

hour.⁴⁷ The motives for these regulations have not been adequately elucidated, although suggestions that they were a direct response to ‘traffic’ (as a problematic build-up of users) is the most common.⁴⁸ Cicero’s comments about the derision Rome will attract from Capua are telling: two reasons why the *Urbs* will be mocked are its substandard streets and extremely narrow alleys.⁴⁹ Written in the 60s B.C., a decade before the *lex Iulia Municipalis* was passed, this presents a self-assessment of the city in which its infrastructures of movement are recognised as inadequate. However, Cicero does not mention traffic on those streets or in those alleys as a problem: it is the infrastructure, not the practice, which will be derided. Indeed, it has often been overlooked that the regulations pertain only to *plaustra*, not to all vehicle traffic. This is a specific type of vehicle, and should not be read as a synonym for either ‘vehicles’ or ‘traffic’ more broadly.⁵⁰

This matters for this thesis because often the discussion revolves around the exclusion of vehicles, and thus the creation of pedestrian space, through the construction of spaces that were deliberately inaccessible to the wheeled traffic. However, one might question whether this is a causal factor in the development of urban spaces, given that vehicles were banned from the city. Once we remind ourselves of the specificity of the regulations, we can again consider the continued presence of vehicle traffic throughout the first centuries B.C. and A.D. In this sense, the design of spaces that are accessible to only one type of user – the pedestrian – remains culturally significant.

⁴⁷ See Nicolet 1987; Crawford 1996: 358-9 for text and translation; Robinson 1992: 81 and van Tilburg 2007: 161-2.

⁴⁸ For example, Aldrete 2004: 38, who relates traffic regulation to the problems caused by having an ever increasing population living in a city with streets designed for a much smaller number of users.

⁴⁹ Cic. *de leg. Agr.* 2.96, non optimis viis, angustissimis semitis. On a related point of interest to this thesis, Capua had two fora; one for the plebs and one for the Senate: Val. Max. 9.5.4, hic diverso foro utebatur.

⁵⁰ Kaiser forthcoming 2011 debunks some of the more common ‘myths’ about urban cart traffic.

Theoretically, the assertion of the pedestrian in narratives about urban space might be seen as a return to “the human scale” of the city.⁵¹ This thesis is not a study of the human scale of either Rome or the fora of the Roman city, but its interest in movement, space and small-scale change resonates with some of the issues in human scale planning. In terms of urban planning, this means that the urban space is structured in such a way that it is accessible to the human pedestrian, in contrast to the “automotive scale” which now governs the organisation of urban space.⁵² Recent work has also begun to address the city of Rome as a patchwork of smaller scale places and local identities – the “cellular structure” of the city.⁵³ We might consider the human scale to be an antidote to the problem of applying modern concepts from urban geography to the city in antiquity. The human scale is not a byword for the reassertion of the pedestrian in our historical narrative (and indeed some of the most important assertions in this thesis are based on the interpretation of vehicle movement), but it helps us to consider the importance of concrete spatial relations – and changes to those relations – at what might seem to be a trivially small scale.⁵⁴ When we come to examine the case studies in this thesis, a twenty-first century city-dweller may think the interpretations give too much significance to the minutiae of spatial change. However, when one considers

⁵¹ Sale 1980.

⁵² Sale 1980: 38. In modern cities this has been fiercely criticised for failing to acknowledge that scales change across time and space (Lefebvre 1996: 149). This concept has not been applied in detail to the Roman city, but see Gros 2005: 209, “La notion de «centre», à Rome comme dans les autres grandes villes de l’Empire, tend en fait, pour les habitants, à se dissoudre au profit d’itinéraires qui déploient sur de longues distances les nouveaux édifices”.

⁵³ Wallace-Hadrill 2003; 2008: 264–9; Lott 2004. See earlier thoughts in Laurence 1991. This has been fostered by an increased awareness that one of the more frequent urban toponyms, the *vicus*, can refer not only to single streets but to the local neighbourhoods unit. See the influential work of Tortorici 1991 (discussed in Chapter 4) and Tarpin 2002: 92 – “l’un ne va pas sans l’autre”.

⁵⁴ In today’s world where the human scale is akin to global scale thanks to ever wider and ever faster transportation, and in which the internet has compressed space and time and revolutionised social interaction, it can be all too easy to forget that the scale of the ancient city revolved around concrete, spatial settings that may to us seem trivial or insignificant.

the human scale of the Roman city, the effects of those changes can be more readily appreciated.

Having surveyed the theoretical background, it is now opportune to discuss recent developments in Roman studies that share a similar approach or underlying interests to this thesis. The congruence of recent scholarship reflects the degree to which the ‘Spatial Turn’ has permeated classical scholarship, in both archaeology and textual analyses.

1.2.2 Making Movement Meaningful for Roman Urbanism

Urban space has been firmly on the agenda in Roman studies since the late 1980s, after which we can characterise a paradigm shift in line with developments in broader cultural studies discussed above. We can recognise this shift from at least MacDonald’s study of Roman architecture in 1986.⁵⁵ Although not a detailed engagement with spatial theory, the work was inspired by emergent trends in urban geography, particularly the focus on streets and open spaces as venues for social interaction.⁵⁶ At the heart of MacDonald’s survey of urban form was the concept of the urban armature – “a clearly delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas”. This type of space provided “uninterrupted passage throughout the town” and “gave ready access to its principal public buildings”.⁵⁷ This emphasises connective architectures rather than architectural typologies *per se* and ostensibly asserts movement as an

⁵⁵ MacDonald 1986. However, Raper 1977 and 1979 are important milestones in the development of an analytical discipline of Roman urban space.

⁵⁶ Notable in this regard are MacDonald’s references to Anderson 1978; Cullen 1971; Rudofsky 1969; Whyte 1980; 1981. Also evident are steps to incorporate ‘the urban image’ into Roman architecture, based on Lynch 1960 and Gould & White 1974. This would later influence Kostof 1991; 1992, itself the inspiration for Favro’s study of Augustan Rome, 1996. Kostof’s influence permeates all corners of Favro’s co-edited work on streets, including Favro 1994 on Rome and Yegül 1994 on the street experience of Ephesus. See also Esmonde Cleary 2005; Malmberg 2009 provides a more thorough application of Lynchian geography to the neighbourhood of the Subura in Rome.

⁵⁷ MacDonald 1986: 3; 30. On urban armatures in context, see 5-31.

important variable in urbanism. Because MacDonald's aim was to identify the elements that made Roman urban form specifically Roman, his view was essentially normative; to perceive common infrastructure and infer common function. There is no notion that movement and space were social variables. MacDonald's urban armature is not a theoretical tool for interpreting the role of movement in the city. As such, the statement that "streets and plazas were never isolated from each other or from the main roads" is not only reductive but is inaccurate, as will be demonstrated regarding the integration of fora in Roman Italy.⁵⁸

Perring's survey of the spatial organisation of Roman urban form developed the issue, noting the chronological shift from "strategies of inclusion to ones of exclusion".⁵⁹ His key theme – that the integration of fora in the street network of the Roman city changed over time – has clear similarities to the core research questions of the present thesis. Where this thesis varies, however, is in examining diachronic change *within* the same cities.⁶⁰ My own focus on the variability of movement and integration within the city over time, rather than between different cities of quite different cultural and temporal contexts, not only serves to understand the development of our case studies but also to provide context for the wider transformations identified.

Also influential in the context of the present thesis is the research on Pompeian urban space over the last two decades. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Pompeii has received the most

⁵⁸ MacDonald 1986: 32.

⁵⁹ Perring 1991, esp. 273-5. See also Gros 2008, and Lomas 1997: 31 on the identifiable key phases in the enclosure of fora: a primary Augustan phase and a secondary Trajanic or Antonine phase. The importance of these phases becomes clear throughout this thesis and is discussed in Chapter 6 with examples from Roman Italy.

⁶⁰ Perring's model of change is based on variations in a town's status, location and date. There is a lack of diachronic discussion within the same cities, such that Ostia and Pompeii are both presented as the 'inclusive' model of fora (1991: 276) despite the relationship of both with the surrounding streets changing to one that is arguably 'exclusive', as this thesis will demonstrate in Chapters 5 and 6 (some concession to this is made for Pompeii's forum, for which architectural change is highlighted, Perring 1991: 280).

sustained attention to its street network and the activities associated with movement and traffic. One can observe a shift away from interpretations of urban space based on models of economic or social zoning toward interpretations based on interaction around the organising framework of the city's street network.⁶¹ The study of issues associated with the street network was prompted by a greater understanding of the variable nature of the network itself. Rather than seeing the network as a homogenous and undifferentiated web of streets, the empirical observations of the wheel ruts left by vehicle traffic have contributed to a greater understanding of the different levels of use at different parts of the city.⁶² Recently, Poehler has attempted to reconstruct the change of direction at street junctions, based on the angle of wear on the curb-stones, and has posited a complex, if at times rather proscriptive and inflexible, system of one- and two-way streets.⁶³ Focussing on the pedestrian rather than the vehicular, Ellis has interpreted the location of *tabernae* according to the footfall of pedestrian traffic.⁶⁴ Reflecting the difficulty of establishing dominant directions of pedestrians, which leave no trace as obvious as wheel ruts, Ellis' work is more intuitive than empirical. Some attempts to measure the discrepant levels of interaction by parameters other than wheel ruts have been attempted, based on space syntax analyses of the built environment.⁶⁵ Such methods establish which streets, all things being equal, are the most integrated in the network, and assumes a positive correlation between integration and levels of activity.⁶⁶ Of course, the city is not so straightforward that all things are equal, and those studies that regard the result

⁶¹ For earlier approaches to Pompeian spatial organisation, see for example: Raper 1977; 1979 on socio-economic zoning; Eschebach 1970. Laurence 1994=2007 pre-empted a step change.

⁶² The pioneering work was that of the Japanese in the early 1990s, who mapped the depth of wheel ruts across the site, see Tsujimura 1991. See Wallace-Hadrill 1995 on wheel ruts and processional routes.

⁶³ Poehler 2006. Van Tilburg 2007: 137-43 and Laurence 2008: 89-92 also discuss wheel rut data in Pompeii but both were written before Poehler's findings appeared in print.

⁶⁴ Ellis 2004.

⁶⁵ Laurence 1994 = 2007.

⁶⁶ Newsome 2009b: 137.

of a space syntax analysis as an end in its own right have arguably been of little value for the development of Pompeian studies.⁶⁷ As such, the value of space syntax analysis is in supporting other, independent data on the ground.⁶⁸ Other recent studies have plotted the location of public amenities in urban space, which are contextualised according to reconstructed patterns of movement and traffic.⁶⁹

In addition to such studies, there has been a recent emergence of studies discussing movement as a social practice, based on other forms of cultural evidence and conceptual interpretations of the pedestrian in space.⁷⁰ In these terms, access is important for understanding social relationships and studies of Roman space have much in common with the theoretical approaches discussed earlier in this section.⁷¹ In such work, movement has

⁶⁷ For example, Fridell Anter & Weilguni 2003. A further caveat is that space syntax does not reveal patterns of use, but statistically-probable patterns based on ahistorical concepts of spatial practice; see Newsome 2009b: 124 for a critique. See Grahame 2000: 24-36 for an overview of the main theoretical suppositions. The space syntax methodological handbook remains Hillier & Hanson 1984. For space syntax in other Roman urban contexts, see Kaiser 2000 on Émpuries and Stöger 2009 on Ostia.

⁶⁸ See Newsome 2009b. Laurence (1994 = 2007) correlated space syntax results with other empirical data, such as the frequencies of graffiti or doorways (see also Laurence 1995). Grahame 2000: 40 criticised Laurence for relegating space syntax to an “ancillary method”, but this is arguably as it should be.

⁶⁹ See for example Hartnett 2008 for the location of benches; Ling 2005 and Hartnett forthcoming on the location of fountains. Important collections bringing together different approaches to the Roman street include Battel *et al.* 2008 (esp. Lavan 2008) and Laurence & Newsome forthcoming 2011.

⁷⁰ Corbeill 2002 (later republished as 2003: 107-39) highlighted cultural attitudes to walking and emphasised the variable political aesthetic embodied in movement; O’Sullivan 2006; 2007 has focussed on the philosophical *theoria* and contemplative elements underlying *ambulatio*. This is incorporated as the Roman example into Fontana-Giusti 2007: 259, which reviews the different ways in which walking ‘works’ in cultural contexts. See also the introduction to Larmour & Spencer 2007, with its debt to Baudelaire’s *flâneur* and Michel de Certeau (1984: 115–30) on the appropriation of place by the pedestrian. For a broader cultural examination of walking see Wunderlich 2008.

⁷¹ Frederick 2003: 222 notes how elite involvement in religious and political institutions was based on the ability to interact with others in prescribed spaces. As such, it was dependent on access. Controlling access is therefore one of the principal ways to demonstrate authority. Valerius Publicola’s house on the Velia was noteworthy not only because it commanded a view over movement that passed

become “a socio-cultural metaphor” and it is studied from a variety of complementary research angles.⁷² The immediate research context of this thesis is therefore one in which movement is on the agenda as an issue in its own right, rather than an inferred but not investigated corollary of urban form.⁷³

One of the most recent works to address similar issues to this study is Macaulay Lewis’ doctoral thesis on leisured movement.⁷⁴ This is motivated by similar interests, primarily the “interaction between movement and space from an archaeological and architectural perspective” and the ways in which patterns of space and patterns of movement influence one another’s development.⁷⁵ Her work examines the spatial configuration of and availability of access to portico structures in Rome. From the design of restricted access, she defines such structures as destinations; places for which the primary spatial use was movement to and not movement through.⁷⁶ Of course, one could make use of the *Porticus*

by it, but because that movement could not access the house itself, for it was surrounded by steep slopes: Plut. *Publ.* 10.2. This emphasis on space as a metaphor for constraining power has much in common with Foucault, e.g. 1975. For a detailed examination of the politics of access in the seventeenth-century monarchy, see Weiser 2003. A similar study in a Roman context would be worthwhile.

⁷² Larmour & Spencer 2007: 9, n.24. In addition to movement as a socio-cultural metaphor, there is a greater interest in the written space of the city as representations, see for example Edwards 1996 for an overview; Vasaly 1993 for Cicero; Boyle 2003 for Ovid; Welch 2005 for Propertius; Rea 2007 for the Augustan period more generally.

⁷³ Recent PhD theses on movement and space include Macaulay Lewis 2007; Trifilò 2009; Stöger forthcoming 2010. Current and ongoing research projects focussed on streets and urban movement include: Rome: the “Via Tiburtina Project” (Istituto Svedese di studi classici a Roma, see Malmberg 2009; Bjur & Malmberg forthcoming 2011); Pompeii: “The Via Consolare Project” (San Francisco State University, no published output as of August 2009); Ostia: “Investigating the Mediterranean City in Late Antiquity (A.D. 300-650)” (Kent and Berlin Universities, see Lavan & Gering 2009).

⁷⁴ Macaulay Lewis 2007.

⁷⁵ Macaulay Lewis 2007: 13. Macaulay Lewis follows Soja 1989 on the concept of the socio-spatial dialectic and is informed by approaches to space and circulation in landscape history.

⁷⁶ Macaulay Lewis 2007: 98-104 and fig. 3 on the evidence for restricted access to the porticoes of Livia, Octavia and Pompey, largely reconstructed from measurements of the *Forma Urbis Romae*.

Liviae as a shortcut between the *vicus Sabuci* and the *clivus Suburbanus*, as seems to have occurred as Pliny and Spurrina sought out one another on the Esquiline.⁷⁷ Still, the architectural arrangement does support the notion that movement was directed and designed.⁷⁸

Such a reading not only allows one to reconsider how ‘public’ were these spaces but brings the distinction between movement *to* and movement *through* to the foreground of how we understand the Roman city. As we have noted above and in the preface, this thesis has similar concerns. However, while applying criteria of restricted accessibility and integration into the surrounding street network to produce a different reading of porticoes, Macaulay Lewis does not follow a similar logic to movement and fora. Indeed, fora are used to provide contrast.⁷⁹ Where porticoes are considered destinations, fora are considered “transitorial” spaces.⁸⁰ As will be demonstrated in Chapter 4, we can question this on similar criteria of movement and accessibility. The distinction between moving to and moving through remains an important one, and provides the theme around which the development of fora and their relationship with the wider city is framed in this present thesis. Where the Forum Romanum began as a space for movement through, the later imperial fora embody concepts of movement to. They are not routes or shortcuts; they are destinations and obstacles.⁸¹ This

⁷⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.9. Pliny and Spurrina meet at the *Porticus Liviae*; not because they were arranged to meet there but because they were both moving to reach one another (*cum alter ad alterum tenderemus*) and the routes converged at this point. See Malmberg 2009: fig. 4 for tentative labels of a ‘lounging area’ and the ‘House of Pliny’ in the area.

⁷⁸ Macaulay Lewis 2007: 99 identifies main entrances, ‘service’ doors and other, minor ‘exits’ based on the width of the openings and their relationship with the street network. The main entrance of the *Porticus Liviae* opened onto the *clivus Suburbanus*.

⁷⁹ See La Rocca 2001: 186 on the influence of the *Porticus Metelli* and the porticus *post scaenam* at the *Theatrum Pompeium* on the first imperial fora.

⁸⁰ Macaulay Lewis 2007: 126–8 on the imperial fora in Rome and fig. 24 of the forum at Pompeii. The term “transitorial” is evidently inspired by the *forum Transitorium*, which she considers a “major thoroughfare”.

⁸¹ Macaulay Lewis forthcoming 2011 and Newsome forthcoming 2011b further develop the overlap between the spaces of porticoes and the spaces of fora.

distinction between the two types of movement is simple but fundamental: a space that can be moved through can also be moved to, but a space that can be moved to cannot necessarily be moved through. We will develop this discussion in chapters 4 and 5.

1.2.3 Movement and the Interpretation of the Imperial Fora

Recent studies of the imperial fora have begun to consider movement to, within and between the complexes. Although the archaeology will be discussed in Chapter 4, some of those studies are worth briefly considering here because they help put this work in its proper context. It is the case that, more often than not, the fora of Rome have been studied in isolation, without a detailed examination of the urban framework within which they existed. When the fora are inserted into their urban framework, this is often uncritical - even speculative – and does little to reflect the realities of movement in the area. The problems were most satisfactorily characterised over two decades ago but it is only recently that we might begin to see sustained engagements with the themes identified.

Giuliani wrote that “è più importante conoscere il rapporto in cui si poneva un monumenta con le strutture adiacenti, con i suoi ingressi, i suoi vuoti, con vincolava il flusso [...] piuttosto che sapere che esso è di quel particolare anno e realizzato in quella particolare circostanza”.⁸² Giuliani prioritised the recognition of how spaces functioned - that is, were used and moved through - and argued against assuming routes in the absence of archaeological evidence.⁸³ This last point may help to explain the relative lack of uptake of

⁸² Giuliani 1985: 9.

⁸³ Giuliani 1985: 9–10. For an example of assumption producing a fallacious image of the imperial fora which casually reconstructs a ring-road around the Forum Traiani, see Gismondi’s plan of 1941 (in Lugli 1946, tav. 5). Giuliani 2007 discusses this image and the assumptions it makes. This issue is more than a trivial matter of fanciful reconstruction; rather it reveals the prevalent attitude that streets – and so movement – need not be so rigorously contextualised as the monumental architectures themselves.

these important themes in the intervening years. If we are to grant such interpretative importance to the role of movement, then it is self evident that we must have confidence in knowing the ways in which movement was facilitated. We must know the location of paths and streets, entrances and exits, junctions and barriers, and so forth. This data, which had until recently remained beneath the *via dei Fori Imperiali*, is now within our grasp thanks to the recent excavations in the capital.

Interest in the streets around, the junctions between and the paths within fora has suffered due to the prioritisation of the monumental and the architectural. On the basis that streets and pathways are little more than the resulting space, movement infrastructure has been added and removed with little or no consideration of what that might imply for how the spaces functioned and were conceived. This early neglect of patterns of movement to and through the complex of the imperial fora has been revised in recent decades, to the extent that movement and accessibility now form the backbone of explanatory articles, rather than being an incidental result of architectural form. Now we might conceive of the fora's architectural forms as dependent upon planned patterns of movement, and not vice versa.

One of the most egregious examples is the interpretation of the substructures of the courtyard around Trajan's column. In 1934, Corrado Ricci extended Giacomo Boni's original excavations from 1906, which had uncovered a pre-Trajanic street, paved in *selce*, 1.35m below the courtyard.⁸⁴ Ricci excavated brick-faced walls which had belonged to a portico and a series of rooms – probably a homogenous unit of *tabernae* – that flanked the northern aspect of the thoroughfare. These walls had been only partially razed before being incorporated into the barrel vaulted substructure that was placed immediately above them. Lancaster suggested that the excessive ribbing and the additional support at this particular location was considered

⁸⁴ Boni 1907: 366.

necessary, or at least prudent, because of the extraordinary weight of the column above, the pressure of which was concentrated over a relatively small footprint.⁸⁵

However, Amici had earlier proposed that the additional structural support at this point was due to the anticipated volume of movement directly above: the extra vaulting “corrisponde evidentemente alla previsione di una particolare pressione sul pavimento soprastante, e quindi una concentrazione di persone per spazio superiore alle altre zone al portico”.⁸⁶ As such, this structure was based on expected patterns of pedestrian footfall; a suggestion which implies that architectural plans accounted for not only the structural integrity of the monument itself but for the subsequent use of that monument once construction had been completed. The arrangement of the structure above ground level lends some credibility to Amici’s suggestion. According to Amici’s reconstruction, the location above the reinforced substructures would have been subject to higher concentrations of movement than any other surrounding space. The courtyard is thus the node of the northern end of Trajan’s complex, and the one space through which movement to any other location must pass. We can represent this space as in figure 1. Here, the substructures identified lie directly beneath point A. Upon entering, the visitor could turn right or left to the libraries (F and G, via the extensions of the courtyard E1 and E2, under which no such substructures were found), remain in the courtyard (D) or proceed toward the Basilica Ulpia (H, via E1 and E2) and the *area* of the forum beyond. The question is one of choice, but only *after* one has moved into this initial area (A) above the vaulted substructure, upon which is then the accumulated weight of movement to a large number of other spaces.

⁸⁵ Lancaster 1999: 421–3. The potential structural problem of a heavy, freestanding columnar monument was well known. See Plin. *HN* 36.73 on the subsidence of the obelisk in the Campus Martius.

⁸⁶ Amici 1982: 66.

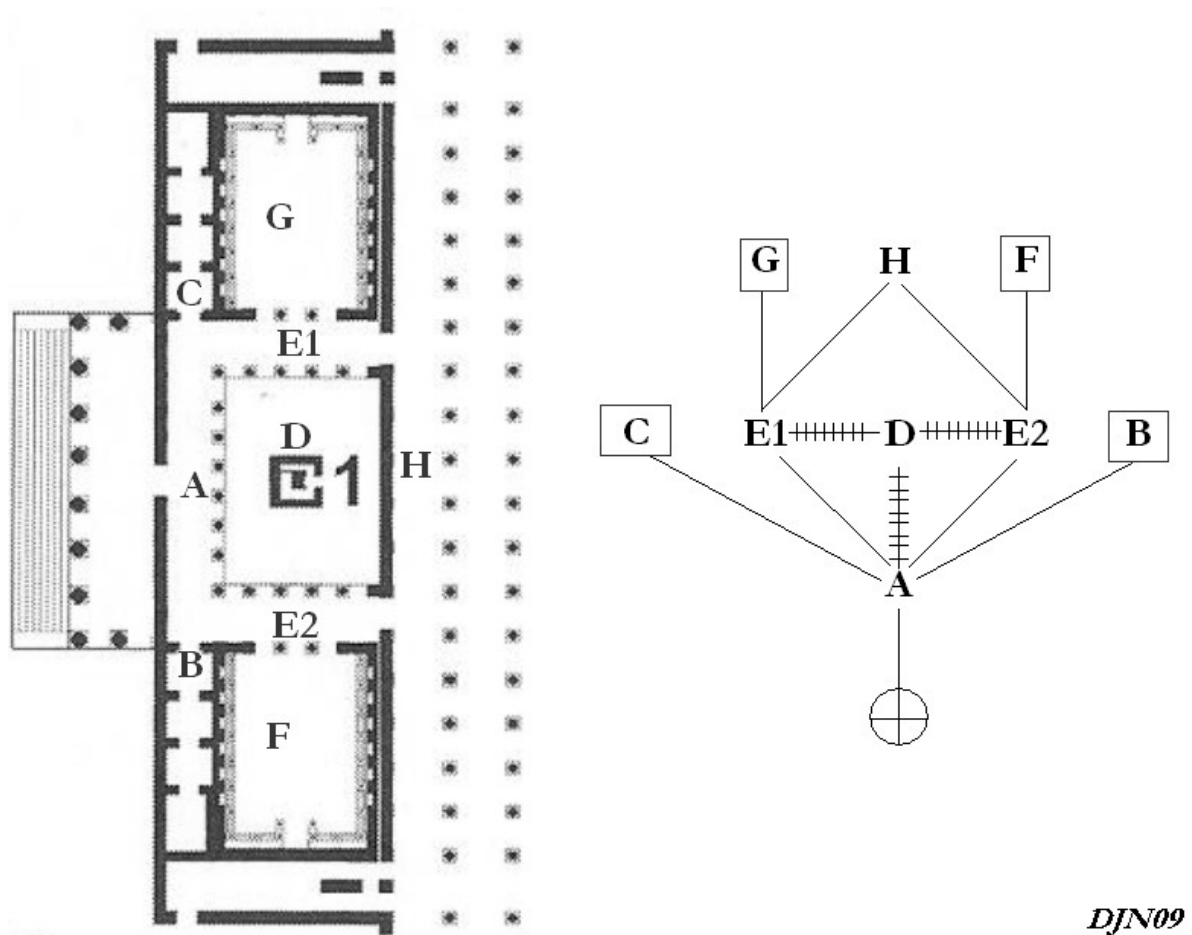


Figure 1 Movement above the area of the reinforced substructures (beneath point A): Left, plan adapted from Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007, fig. 15; Right, mapped as points.

Amici's suggestion is interesting but Lancaster estimates that the largest possible number of people who could crowd the column's courtyard would have a combined weight of no more than 5 tonnes (not to mention that it was unlikely that this space was ever full in this manner). In contrast just one block of the pedestal for the column weighed 77 tonnes.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Amici had at least reinstated movement and traffic as a variable in the interpretation of architectural form and rightly identified the dissimilar patterning of movement into and through this monumental space.

To disagree with Amici is not to remove movement as an important variable. Lancaster argued that the substructures were located where blocks of the column pedestal and

⁸⁷ Lancaster 1999: 423–4.

sections of the column itself would be deposited, before being hoisted into position. Thus, point A in figure 1 was the part of the well-prepared construction yard that was subject to more sustained and intense load, to the north of the complex. If we consider the construction in terms of city-wide patterns of movement, this hypothesis is sensible. Although the pre-Trajanic street had evidently been covered by this stage, there remained a well connected road network into the area (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). This side of the construction yard was thus the most accessible to heavy goods traffic from the Tiber or the *via Lata*.⁸⁸

The emphasis on movement as a defining parameter in urban design is an important development. Patterned movement has increasingly been seen as a determining factor in urban form and function, rather than as a consequence. Indeed, we can recognise in these reconstructions both the importance of local and city-wide movement in determining the physical organisation of space. In both cases there is evident anticipation of and design for the particular, site-specific demands of moving either people or materials. Patterns of movement and traffic are therefore not merely a result of how these spaces could be used after they were built, but are determining factors in how they were designed. Such approaches to reading the urban fabric has been influential on this current work, although much more can be done. We will consider more examples throughout our later case studies.

We began this section by noting the three main considerations in an assessment of the research context of this thesis. We have examined two of these – the theoretical agenda and the recent scholarship on the Roman city – in some detail here. The following section considers the third – the increment of evidence. This has informed the choice of case studies, based on the availability of the kinds of evidence needed to answer the kinds of questions we are posing.

⁸⁸ See Lancaster 1999: 438, fig. 12 for a route from the Tiber to the column.

1.3 CASE STUDIES

This thesis examines the changing nature of urban space in the Roman city through the detailed observation and analysis of case studies from two cities: Rome and Pompeii. Rome is broken down into smaller case studies across Chapters 3 and 4, of the Forum Romanum (from the third century B.C. until the late second and early third centuries A.D.), and the imperial fora constructed between ca. 54 B.C. and A.D. 113. The case study from Pompeii is restricted to the area of the forum and its local setting in the street network of *Regiones* VII and VIII. In this section, it is important to explain why these case studies have been chosen.

This thesis makes use of archaeology, epigraphy, literary texts and visual depictions of urban space. From archaeological data we can address fundamental issues of chronology and establish synchronic relationships between architectural spaces and street networks. Going beyond this, we can reconstruct diachronic change. In order to reconstruct the development of a street network it is necessary to have archaeological evidence which has both a strong stratigraphical and chronological foundation. Much of the evidence for movement in urban space is from inference. We do not have pedestrians and *plaustra* but we do have the spaces they used. As such, although archaeology and architectural history cannot reconstruct spatial practice, they can reconstruct the infrastructure within which such practice took place. We can then include and exclude possibilities on the basis of this infrastructure.⁸⁹ So, for example, we can determine whether or not a space was pedestrianised based on architectural evidence. Not making movement easy for vehicles is telling, but designed exclusion is further, and more emphatic, evidence of controlled spatial practice. The case studies in this thesis therefore devote attention to the complexities of changes in street networks and the communications between different spaces. The analytical sections examine the details of these spaces, easily

⁸⁹ See for example Wallace-Hadrill 1995 on a processional route in Pompeii based on wheel rut evidence, or Poehler 2006 on likely routes of vehicle traffic based on the directional wear at junctions.

overlooked when one talks of monumental constructions such as the imperial fora, where focus is diverted to the big picture and loses sight of the nuances and minutiae. While at times this may appear fastidious, it is important to appreciate the accumulated effects of the evidence. The use of detailed chronologies is also important in understanding the piecemeal development of urban space, so that we might better explain and interpret the development of the fora as processes rather than merely as final products. In interpreting the impact of the fora on existing street networks, it is important that they are deconstructed into their piecemeal elements, for which archaeological chronologies are crucial.

The choice of Rome and Pompeii is a pragmatic one on the basis of available evidence. However, it allows us to compare between two cities that vary in scale (in terms of physical size, urban population and the relationship between the two as population density). Therefore, the two cities arguably had different pragmatic concerns over the management of spatial practice. This difference between the two cities has often been overlooked in studies of traffic management, where scholars might infer that the model of practice from the metropolis was applied, in either the letter or the spirit of the law, to the regulation of traffic in the much smaller Campanian town.⁹⁰ Because this thesis is interested in the way in which the development of fora contributes to a redefinition of ‘centrality’, it will be interesting to observe whether spatial habits in Rome also occur in Pompeii. If the development of the space of fora is based on ways of conceiving space, and not on functional, economic or pragmatic grounds, then we might expect Pompeii to follow suit. This is not to reassert the notion of ‘symbolic centrality’ or to seek to generalise about Roman urban form, but to recognise physical, spatial change that was not motivated by local, pragmatic needs. In sum, do we see Pompeii’s forum developing according to a spatial logic from Rome, and what is that logic?

⁹⁰ Poehler 2006; Hartnett 2008. The present author may have been overzealous in his application of the legal frameworks of Rome to explain small-scale change in Pompeii. See Newsome 2009b, although I maintain the broader argument developed therein.

Rome is often absent from debates about the space of the Roman city. It is seen as atypical for debates on Roman urban form and lacking in adequate archaeological documentation due to the levels of post-Roman activity. The number of caveats and lacunae in the evidence mean that the validity and stability of interpretations and reconstructions remain susceptible to more substantial revision than might be the case elsewhere. Amanda Claridge has characterised the study of Roman topography as follows:

“Our knowledge of the topography of ancient Rome is a fragile construct, concocted from disparate mixtures of written, pictorial and material sources, loosely bound together in a judicious balance of probabilities. One tiny piece of new documentary evidence can upset the balance; new archaeological excavations can bring about a total collapse”.⁹¹

While this, coupled with the fact noted in the preface that much work is ongoing, may seem like an excuse to avoid Rome in a thesis of this kind, it is in fact the very reason why the work is necessary. The imperial fora have been extensively excavated in the decades and years running up to this thesis. The traditional model of the imperial fora has been dramatically altered and this has exposed not only new archaeological material to contribute to the debate, but also a greater appreciation of the manner in which old doxies were based on contemporary urban paradigms rather than on unambiguous archaeological or textual data.⁹² Revision is necessary.⁹³

⁹¹ Claridge 2007: 55.

⁹² See criticisms of Italo Gismondi's canonical reconstruction, which illustrated Lugli's archaeological summary (1946), in La Rocca 2001: 171–2.

⁹³ In contrast to the imperial fora, the Forum Romanum has not been subject to the same levels of archaeological excavation and reinterpretation. This is not without exceptions, but the standard publications from the 1980s remain as the backbone to the archaeological and historical narrative. For example, Coarelli 1983; 1985; Giuliani & Verduchi 1987.

On the results of the recent excavations in the imperial fora, Claridge continues, “everything is subtly changing before our eyes [...] and it is going to take years for the implications to be fully absorbed”.⁹⁴ While we can not be so foolhardy to suggest that the new tentative doxy necessarily will become a lasting orthodoxy, or that the evidence presented here will not itself be reinterpreted or challenged by future excavation, this thesis presents the most up-to-date synthesis available for the research questions outlined above. This thesis is the first detailed attempt to bring this data to bear on a particular, thematic issue: the development of the fora in relation to existing space and patterns of movement.⁹⁵

The extent and availability of publication from Rome makes it a suitable and accessible case study. The key findings of the recent excavations of the imperial fora have been available as detailed articles for several years.⁹⁶ During the research period of this thesis the first summary monograph of the excavations (1991–2007) was published, and individual monographs for each fora are in press.⁹⁷ In addition to the existing work and the new data we can already point to the substantial syntheses of data in the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*.⁹⁸ This is invaluable, although with the usual, necessary caveat that dictionary entries artificially divorce the contributions into individual histories, lacking in detailed spatial

⁹⁴ Claridge 2007: 55.

⁹⁵ Palombi 2005a: 81 refers to the recent excavations but does not incorporate the data into his narrative.

⁹⁶ See for the example the detailed essays in *RM* 2001, ‘Fori Imperiali. Relazione preliminare degli scavi eseguiti in occasione del Grande Giubileo del Duemila’.

⁹⁷ The key publication on the excavations of the imperial fora is Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007, reviewed by Newsome 2009c. Earlier interim summaries are provided in Patterson 1992 and Packer 1997a.

⁹⁸ Steinby 1993-2000. I have not, as a matter of routine, provided *LTUR* references for each site examined in this thesis unless the interpretation in that site entry is specifically discussed. Important earlier works include Lugli 1946; Anderson 1984; Morselli and Tortorici 1989; Tortorici 1991.

context.⁹⁹ In terms of the extent, nature and availability of evidence, Rome is an accessible case study in ways that it was not less than a decade ago. The detailed investigations of the imperial fora demand incorporation into a detailed, thematic discussion.

Turning to Pompeii, which provides the main comparison with the trends identified in Rome, this too requires some word of qualification. Although, as noted, there has been much recent research on Pompeian urban space, this thesis must engage with one of the more problematic aspects of that city's archaeology: chronology.

The preservation of Pompeii's street network from A.D. 79 makes it at once the ideal candidate for examining the relationship between the forum and the street network and yet a less than ideal candidate for addressing the specific research questions asked in this thesis. These questions are fundamentally diachronic, comparing one period with the next to allow a more comprehensive picture of the historical integration of the forum in the city to emerge. It is this lack of diachronic investigation that has limited many of the recent studies in Pompeian urban space. The investigation in this thesis therefore involves much piecing together of disparate chronological information in order to reconstruct the sequential development of the forum at Pompeii over the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

The need to introduce chronology into such interpretation can be seen in the example of the Insula of the Menander (I.3). There, it was noted how the front rooms of houses were converted to shops, opening onto the street, during the first century A.D. This was interpreted as a reaction to "increased traffic" around the *insula*.¹⁰⁰ Although the assertion that economically-driven enterprises tend to be found on main streets is not new, the significance of these developments is that we might explain them according to an *increase* in traffic; hence, it is the spatial practice, not the intrinsic nature of the spatial network, that influenced the

⁹⁹ See also Platner & Ashby 1929; Richardson 1992; Dumser 2002. More recently the *LTUR* series has published *supplementa* on Rome's excavation history from the late-nineteenth century onwards: Coarelli 2004; 2006. See also Tomei & Liverani 2005

¹⁰⁰ Ling 1997: 238-53.

development of commercial properties in this area. It was not that the *Insula* of the Menander was surrounded by inherently busy streets but that, at some point, the volume of traffic increased to an extent that it became a determining factor in subsequent development.

In this instance, one cannot fully understand domestic developments without recourse to urban developments also. I have demonstrated something similar for the space around the Casa del Marinaio (VII.15.1-2).¹⁰¹ The streets that bordered this house at the edge of the *insula* were noted for their “oddities” in the most recent monograph on the property, although these oddities could not be explained from a synchronic reading.¹⁰² In order to explain them it was necessary to untangle the modifications and additions to the street network both immediately outside the property and, importantly, at the junctions from which traffic would be directed. In short, one can observe a gradual removal of routes to the west of the forum in the first century B.C. and A.D., with the effect that traffic was channelled past the Casa del Marinaio. This had previously overlooked relatively segregated back streets, on which little traffic would pass. The use of the streets for stopping and unloading of goods was no longer viable when traffic patterns increased, and so the property was forced to adapt. This not only explains the “oddities” in this area, but demonstrates the need for more chronologically based interpretation of Pompeian archaeology, particularly around the heavily developed area of the forum which changed dramatically over the first centuries B.C. and A.D.¹⁰³ These examples highlight the need to account for urban change, often lacking in discussions of Pompeii’s urban space.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Newsome 2009b.

¹⁰² Franklin 1990: 38.

¹⁰³ The key publications for the forum are Maiuri 1942; 1973; Dobbins 1994, 1996, 1997, 2007; Dobbins *et al.* 1998; Dobbins & Ball 2005; Wallat 1995 and 1997. An important example of ongoing research that may demand us to reengage with core issues of urban development is that led by the Universität Augsburg. See Kockel 2005; Kockel and Flecke 2009.

¹⁰⁴ There are important exceptions: Maiuri 1973; Carafa 1997; 2002; Fulford & Wallace-Hadrill 1999; Coarelli & Pesando 2006. See discussion in Newsome 2009b: 122–3.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

Having introduced the questions, context and approaches of this thesis, the following chapters develop the theoretical, evidential and interpretative discussion. A formal division of the text into three distinct parts has been avoided because neither the theoretical, evidential or interpretative elements can be so arbitrarily divorced, and overlap is necessary and desirable in most instances. Nevertheless, we can characterise the three constituent parts as follows: Chapters 2 lays the theoretical foundations for a reinterpretation of movement and centrality; Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present case studies of the development of fora in Rome and Pompeii. These case studies allow us to consider the effect of physical change, particularly in terms of understanding how fora related to the rest of the city. Chapter 6 serves as an interpretative discussion and conclusion.

In Chapter 2, we explore ways of thinking about the concept of centrality as articulated through movement. We can usefully introduce the theme of this chapter with Purcell's comment that "topographical centrality is most frequently articulated through human action and especially movement".¹⁰⁵ This chapter develops the reasons why the use of space and patterns of movement are important in defining topographical constructs from both contemporary spatial theory and from evidence from antiquity. In particular, it discusses the definition of place and examines the use of the term *locus celeberrimus* in Latin literature and epigraphy. This allows us to see the overlap between spatial practice, perception and representation. It exposes an essential characteristic of Roman space that *loci* are considered according to patterns of movement, and surveys key sites within and around the Forum Romanum.

¹⁰⁵ Purcell 2007: 187. See also Stenton 2007: 64 on 'kinetic geography': "A space is represented and constructed by the ways its people move about it, the connections they make with others, and the routes they create as a result".

The concepts established in Chapter 2 form an essential basis for the following case studies, which share the fundamental question: if movement defines space, how do changes to patterns of movement influence the definition of those spaces? At the heart of these case studies is also the assertion that we might recognise the gradual embodiment of cultural habits in architectural development. This is framed around the changes made to patterns of accessibility and the restrictions placed on different types of urban movement. As such, we shift from a case study of how movement was gradually managed (Chapter 3, the Forum Romanum), to a series of case studies that show new architectural projects designed with specific cultural attitudes to movement built in (Chapter 4, the imperial fora). Chapter 5 examines Pompeii's forum and asks similar questions, with the added benefit of allowing one to further see how the development of this site was influenced by Rome. Pompeii's forum demonstrates the spread of the *nature* of space, and the manner in which streets were divorced from the piazza closely followed the attitude to space that we have observed in Rome in the previous chapters.

Chapter 6 brings the thesis to a close by summarising the key issues and discussing their importance for how we interpret not only the individual sites that have been examined but for how we interpret the concept of space in the Roman city. It serves to relate the evidence of the case studies to the theoretical framework, and to demonstrate the importance of movement for understanding the Roman city.

2. MOVEMENT AND THE DEFINITION OF PLACE

“Walker, there is no road; the road is made by walking”¹⁰⁶

This chapter develops the theoretical framework for considering centrality as a relative construct, based on patterns of movement. To do this, it is first important to consider recent developments in wider cultural studies that inform this approach. Such approaches explain centrality as a process. Following this theoretical background, we must seek congruence with Roman attitudes to space. I argue that if centrality is related to volumes of movement, the closest term we have in classical sources (epigraphic and literary) is *locus celeberrimus*. This does not mean that the term translates as ‘centre’, but that in rethinking ‘centrality’ itself, and considering it in terms of a relative hierarchy of places of urban movement, *locus celeberrimus* allows us to see a similar concept in antiquity. This chapter examines how the term was used, for what kinds of urban sites, and how this use fits our notion of centrality as defined by movement. It frames centrality around the overlap between spatial practice, perception and representation. By introducing this approach to centrality, the thesis is then able to look in more detail at specific case studies and consider the development of movement and space as an important social, as well as spatial, variable.

2.1 CENTRALITY AS CONCEIVED SPACE

In order that we might rethink the concept of centrality in the Roman city, it is first necessary to consider previous approaches to the issue, and this section briefly reviews existing

¹⁰⁶ Antonio Machado (1912) *Campos de Castillas, Proverbios y cantares* XIX (translated by B.J. Craige).

scholarship. This focusses on centrality as conceived space – that is, a particular concept of space that has been theorised and built. The remainder of this thesis then discusses centrality as a social construct, based on movement and interaction in space. Purcell has recently stated that “the Romans consciously built on, adapted and enhanced their centrality as an ideology, that – it is scarcely too strong a word – they theorized it”.¹⁰⁷ In this sense, in terms of Lefebvre’s theory of space discussed in Chapter 1, the issues in this chapter belong to *l’espace conçu*: space as it is conceived as an ideological and symbolic representation.

It has become almost axiomatic that the centre of the Roman city was at the junction of its two principal streets, the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*.¹⁰⁸ This kind of urban layout is often called Hippodamic, or variants of ‘drawing’ or ‘chess board’. The linking of regular grids to the fifth century B.C. planner Hippodamus of Miletus is based primarily on Aristotle’s observation that he invented the art of dividing up cities.¹⁰⁹ Aristotle says that Hippodamus laid out Piraeus, which had formerly been irregular but was thereafter planned with order and regularity.¹¹⁰ The spatial nature of this planning has been disputed, with Burns challenging the suggestion that Hippodamus’ invention was town-planning in the sense of street layout, referring instead to the division of the populace.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Purcell 2007: 185.

¹⁰⁸ Castagnoli 1967: esp. 96-121; Perring 1991.

¹⁰⁹ The practice of orthogonal layout is archaeologically attested centuries before Hippodamus, so his division of the city is likely to be sought in terms of political or social division, not the physical division of the city by regular grids. See Gorman 1995: 385-7. This is now the more commonly accepted reading (see Paden 2001), but the Hippodamic model of town planning persists in Roman archaeology.

¹¹⁰ Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.5.1267b22-1268a14. See Gill 2006: 2-4. The *agora* in Piraeus was named after Hippodamus.

¹¹¹ Burns 1976: 415-6. The translations of Aristotle used here are Burns’.

Aristotle discusses the benefits for private housing of the streets that are regularly laid out after the fashion which Hippodamus introduced.¹¹² However, he makes no reference to the arrangement of streets around any central point, or the location of buildings and spaces within it. This led Castagnoli, in his work on orthogonal planning, to distinguish the Greek Hippodamic model with the later Roman planned towns because the former had no central intersection. Instead, public squares and amenities fitted within the plots established by the grid of streets, their sizes corresponding to the footprint of the *insula*. In Greek cities, there was no central area nor were there public squares, instead merely “random shapes [...] haphazardly crossed by thoroughfares”.¹¹³

Recent works related to the Roman city have continued to use the term Hippodamic in discussions of settlements that have a perceived regularity. Van Tilburg’s work on traffic in the Roman Empire, for example, has Hippodamic – rather than orthogonal – as synonymous with any network that has streets at right angles.¹¹⁴ In reference to specific Roman terms, van Tilburg identifies the *cardo* and *decumanus* as the principal organising factors of Roman urban space: “we also meet the words *cardo* and *decumanus*, besides geodesy, in the central axes of planned Roman towns”.¹¹⁵ However, whilst these terms are encountered in surveys by *agrimensores* on centuriated land allotments, their application to urban networks is an extension without ancient testimony, and this is tellingly revealed by their absence from van Tilburg’s list of attested names for streets and routeways in urban settlements.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.11.1330. Strabo says Rhodes was planned by the architect of Piraeus (14.2.9). Only later texts refer to Hippodamus as an architect and this may be based on confusion over his role in the creation of existing sites, which was more likely theoretical than practical (see Cahill 2002).

¹¹³ Castagnoli 1967: 129.

¹¹⁴ Orthogonal (*orthos/gonia*; straight/angle) is surely more appropriate as a descriptive term.

¹¹⁵ Van Tilburg 2007: 9.

¹¹⁶ Van Tilburg 2007: 7-8. See Dilke 1971 on *agrimensores*; Rykwert 1976: 41-72 on the cross-axis in land allotment; Ward Perkins 1974: 109-10 for the lack of any urban designation.

None of the above, either the applicability of Hippodamic planning or the designation of *cardo* and *decumanus*, should strike us as particularly problematic. The regular layout of Roman (planned) cities might as well have a generic label applied to it, and the labels of *cardo* and *decumanus* work well enough to designate streets (in secondary sources), if we are aware that these are subjective labels. However, the problem with discussing Roman centrality in these terms is that geometrically centred streets do not necessarily constitute the ‘principal’ ones, and the epithet *maximus*, whilst perhaps justified in that the streets are often wider than all others in the town, also gives an impression of superlatives that blur the spatial with the social. In this sense, the survey-based adjective *maximus* - as largest – becomes the social soubriquet *maximus* - as leading - and the interpretation of central, social space is rooted too closely to these two main streets and the *decussis* that is made. The centre of the Roman city, it might seem, is where *X* marks the spot.

An example of this, and a misreading of Aristotle’s passage on Hippodamus, comes from Haverfield’s influential work on town planning: “Aristotle, however, states that [Hippodamus] introduced the principle of straight wide streets [...] and paid special attention to the combination of the different parts of town in a harmonious whole, centred around the market-place”.¹¹⁷ We have already noted above that, in fact, Aristotle makes no such statement about the principals of city planning. There is no mention of a centre, or the way in which streets are arranged around it, and certainly not of an agora as a central node.

If Hippodamus does not have any specific contribution to the concept and arrangement of central spaces within the cities that are often given his name in Roman archaeology, what about the most noteworthy Latin source on town planning, Vitruvius? Paradoxically, Vitruvius tells us the most about central space in the Roman city and at the same time tells us the least, in the sense of not expanding beyond the technical nature of his treatise and offering

¹¹⁷ Haverfield 1913: 29. Haverfield’s influence is discussed by Laurence 1994= 2007: 11-4.

comment upon the *concept* of the space which he describes.¹¹⁸ It is not Vitruvius' intent to explicitly espouse the properties of central urban space.¹¹⁹ Although the principles of orientation and intersection that are described have often been related to urban form, Vitruvius' main concern is with identifying the directions of the winds, rather than with urban centrality *per se*, although one could argue that based on his principles, the latter can only follow the former.¹²⁰ In his method, orientation relies on a central point. An overlap of spatial terms designates a more specific resolution of centrality where one was to locate the *gnomon*, "at the middle of that central spot" (1.6.6) thus established within the walls. Vitruvius' uses both *medium* and *centrum*, and this overlap continues throughout the procedure. It might be argued that *medium* – as 'middle' – is less specific than *centrum* – as 'centre' – and, in the discussion of urban centrality, of lesser significance in identifying a sense of conceptual space that filters from geometric absolutes to relative social perceptions. This will be developed in chapter 3, on the recurring, although moveable and rather abstract toponym, *media urbis*.

Vitruvius concludes his discussion of the procedure with a range of instructions on how to intersect the circle that has been marked out from the *gnomon* (1.6.7). It is here that the relationship to urban planning is most apparent. Vitruvius' procedure asks for the drawing of lines – *decusatim describendum* – which crisscross the circle, always intersecting through the centre.¹²¹ Once this procedure has been completed, streets and alleys are laid out

¹¹⁸ On Vitruvius' technical language, see Patterson 1997.

¹¹⁹ There are some notable exceptions, such as 6.1.10-11 in which the location of Rome at the centre of the earth (*vero inter spatium totius orbis terrarum regionisque medio mundi populus Romanus possidet fines*) is a matter of divine cosmic order. For a reassertion of the cosmic, see Lagaloupos 2008. It has elsewhere been suggested that Vitruvius' inclination toward the number sixteen and his derivations of left and right in astronomy (Book 9) are based on Etruscan augury; Rykwert 1976: 49-51 and McEwen 2004: 168-70.

¹²⁰ Vitr. 1.6.5, *quod cum ita exploratum habeatur, ut inveniatur regiones et ortus eorum, sic erit ratiocinandum*.

¹²¹ Vitr. 1.6.7, *per centrum medium decusatim lineae ab extremis ad extremas circinationes perducendae*.

accordingly. The network of streets thus arranged ostensibly relies on the orientation of space that is itself based on the geometric principles embodied in the nouns *centrum*, *medium* and *decussis*. However, while this alone might suggest that the Roman city has an identifiable, geometrically defined and repeatedly intersected centre, it is worth considering that Vitruvius does not refer to it as such. The terms described above relate to the procedure for identifying the winds, not for the subsequent conceptualisation of the space thus described.

However, Vitruvius' arrangement of the city is one that speaks of an interest in the location of patterns of use. His discussion of how to arrange streets in relation to the wind comes from the everyday complaint that in the town of Mytilene in Lesbos – otherwise magnificently and elegantly designed – people cannot stand in the *angiporta* or *platea* if a north wind is blowing, because of the intense cold they channelled. Like Tacitus' remark that, following the rebuilding after the fire of A.D. 64, Nero's wide streets removed any shade and protection from the blistering sun, Vitruvius explains the layout of cities in terms that its users would comprehend immediately – through arrangements that favoured temperate stability and practicality rather than cosmological symbolism.¹²²

Something similar could be said of his discussions about the location of amenities and public spaces for communal use (1.7.1-2), a key consideration of which is the relative *opportunitas* of sites. Accordingly, if the town is by the sea, the forum should be close to the harbour. This is almost certainly reflective of the anticipated *locus celeberrimus* of that particular site, near the waterfront, with the bustle of trade and the sheer number of people. Conversely, if the site is inland, the forum should be in the centre of the town. Again, the *opportunitas* of such a location can be related to movement as, based on Vitruvius' preceding instructions for street layout (with which section 1.7 is intimately linked), *medio oppido* would be the intersection of all streets, and thus a space intrinsically more likely to be busy. The same principle, but inverted, underlies the location of the temple of Ceres (1.7.2), which

¹²² Tac., *Ann.* 15.43.

demanded a solitary spot. This is to be placed outside of the city in a location where the public would not normally go; beyond routine patterns of movement.

Vitruvius' concept of urban space is based less on cosmic ordering and divination in the layout of towns, than in the sort of practicality that is aimed toward the real driving force of urban life – the interaction of people. Vitruvius' city space is not cosmic, it is social.

Much of the above rests on establishing to what extent Vitruvius (and similar texts) considers urban space, and the location of urban centres, to be a matter of symbolism or experience. The same need to explain this theoretical prejudice exists in secondary sources and their approaches to urban space, and it is perhaps the difference between these two epistemologies that has most influenced the traditional discussion of Roman urban centrality. Although there can be overlap between these priorities, centrality is either defined as a symbolic (that is, represented) or a social (that is, lived and experienced) topographical construct.

One of the most influential treatments of the subject of ancient urban form was that by the architectural historian Joseph Rykwert, whose work emphasised the ritual and symbolic considerations of town planning. Almost standing as a maxim for those parts of his book on the foundation of towns, Rykwert stated that this act “enshrined” rituals and anchored them to “the physical shape of roads and buildings”.¹²³ Rykwert has been influential in urban studies that connect form to foundation, and which emphasise the symbolic nature of spatial arrangements. However, this emphasis on symbolic space has not been accepted by those scholars who prefer to consider the Roman city as a pragmatic space, where practicalities are interwoven with the ritual elements but are ultimately a more influential factor in both foundation and subsequent development. Ward-Perkins' work on city planning, written at around the same time as Rykwert's, is an example of a preference for both organic development and an interpretative, explanatory framework based not on cosmography or

¹²³ Rykwert 1976: 27.

ideology but on pragmatism (largely economic but also militaristic). It is for this reason, for example, that the regularity of the layout of Cosa (273 B.C.) was sacrificed in order to place the forum on level ground – the difficulties of terrain outweigh symbolic considerations. As a result, the forum does not stand at the centre of the city where it *ought* to.¹²⁴ Ward-Perkins' opposition to the explanations offered by Rykwert bordered on the polemical: "few subjects have been the object of so much inconclusive erudition, much of which may now be left to the historian of religious belief and cosmic speculation".¹²⁵ He aimed, instead, for a reassertion of the way in which space was used by contemporary societies, stressing that any consideration of urban planning without a consideration of urban dwellers was an "arid exercise, devoid of historical significance".¹²⁶ In this sense, the city is not one of absolute spatial definitions, based on the geometrics of the urban plan. Instead, the Roman city and the definition of centrality within it is based on the ways in which that plan is used and on the relative hierarchy of its constituent spaces – as revealed by patterns of movement and interaction.

On the theme of centrality defined by movement and interaction, it is worth considering a speech by the Greek orator Aelius Aristides; delivered to the Imperial court in Rome in late-A.D. 155. Aristides praised Rome's empire, its military policy, its civic administration and the success of empire under peace as opposed to war. Early in the oration, as is common in Aristides' other panegyric speeches concerned with specific cities, Rome's geography and physical characteristics are reviewed. It is in this context that we find the key

¹²⁴ Ward-Perkins 1974: 27. For the topography of Cosa, see Brown *et al* 1951. Rykwert himself deals with the *arx* of Cosa (1976: 117-8) and concludes that it 'corresponds sufficiently strikingly' to the *Roma Quadrata* of classical texts to justify an interpretation as Cosa's equivalent. See Brown 1960 for this *Cosa Quadrata*, but recently reinterpreted by Taylor 2002 as the first temple following the colonisation.

¹²⁵ Ward-Perkins 1974: 110.

¹²⁶ Ward-Perkins 1974: 9.

point: “Wherever in the city one is, nothing prevents one from being in its centre all the same”.¹²⁷

Comparing this to Athens, to which Aristides delivered a speech for the Panathenaic festival, again in A.D. 155, we see that his conceptualisation of Rome’s urban fabric is strikingly different. Athens is described in a series of overlapping centralities. Greece is the centre of the world; Attica is the centre of Greece; Athens is the centre of Attica; and, finally, the Acropolis is the centre of Athens (I.16). This focus on the Acropolis “in the midst of the city” is noticeably different to Rome; whose own ‘central’ mounts – the Capitoline or Palatine – go unnoticed in the lengthy oration. Instead, Aristides’ comments on Rome bear greater comparison with his discussions of Smyrna – to which he delivered two orations, first in A.D. 157, then in 179. In these speeches, Aristides initially describes Smyrna as dominated by a single, central avenue – the *Sacred Way* – which crossed the city from west to east, “from temple to temple, from hill to hill”.¹²⁸ Moreover, along this topography, Smyrna’s greatest characteristic was the harmony displayed throughout its urban form; where each part of the city formed part of a consistent, compatible whole.¹²⁹ Yet, on looking closer, at individual streets, junctions and precincts, there is a withdrawal from this statement; a contradiction between grid and practice – “I am close to saying what I denied before”, Smyrna has, instead, “many cities” in the compass of its grid; focussed on “avenues like market places, intersecting one another four times”.¹³⁰ It is at this level of spatial resolution, not that of the Acropolis, to which Aristides equates the city of Rome with its endless, multiple centres.

This definition of centrality is based, above all, on streets and intersections, throughout the urban landscape. It is evidence that Aristides and his contemporaries – remembering that he was writing for the Roman imperial court – recognised that urban spatial

¹²⁷ Aelius Aristides, *Roman Oration* 26.7. Translations of Aristides are from Behr 1981; 1986.

¹²⁸ Aelius Aristides 17.10.

¹²⁹ Aelius Aristides, 17.9.

¹³⁰ Aelius Aristides, 17.11.

practice is generated by and sustains particular arrangements of urban infrastructure. Centrality is found in streets and their intersections; “streets of every kind, some deep in the city, others at its limits”.¹³¹ This emphasis on streets as centres is an emphasis on movement, and we can now consider the extent to which movement shaped the definition of place.

2.2 CENTRALITY AS A PROCESS

The problem of centrality was neatly summarised in Saunier’s examination of space in nineteenth century France, a context removed from our own but with similar interests: “The notions of centre and centrality are too often taken for granted. We tend to employ those terms as objective descriptions that can be attributed to all times and all places”.¹³² We have seen this in the examples from the previous section, be it in the geometric objectivity of Roman urban planning, or in the comparative ahistoricism of symbolic centralities. Instead, where space is designed and constructed, this reveals the “urban disposition”.¹³³ The case studies in this thesis allow us to see an evolving urban disposition, in both managed space and designed space, relating to patterns of movement and routes through the city.

One interesting approach to centrality is that developed by Lefebvre. I have already critiqued Lefebvre’s approach to centrality in ancient Rome in more detail than is appropriate here.¹³⁴ In summary, I argued that while his work on Rome itself was problematic, his wider theories of urban centrality offer useful ways for understanding space in the ancient city, so

¹³¹ Aelius Aristides, 17.11.

¹³² Saunier 1998: 436.

¹³³ Saunier 1998: 463, n.5.

¹³⁴ Newsome 2009b, esp. 26-9; 32. For example, Lefebvre 1991: 169, “In the Greek and Roman cities, centrality is attached to an empty space”; It is difficult to know how Lefebvre reached his conclusions about Roman space. Owing to this method of dictating his works, we do not have proper references to his classical sources. He routinely names Vitruvius, as well as scattered references to Cicero, Seneca and Pliny the Elder.

long as they are tied to an interpretative framework that is based on archaeological and textual evidence.

One of Lefebvre's key principles was that centrality is not an objective state but is relative, and that it is possible for there to exist different centres at different times and even different centres at the same time. This has parallels with the interpretation of the *Miliarium Aureum* and *Umbilicus Romae*, which I have discussed elsewhere.¹³⁵ In short, "centrality is movable".¹³⁶ He suggested that "in the future, the city will invariably be polycentric, a multiplicity of centres".¹³⁷ He could have applied this to ancient Rome, with its "cellular structure"; a city routinely divided into component parts, be they formal *regiones* and *vici* or informal areas perceived by the populace in the empire.¹³⁸ Lefebvre identified the street as central to urban and social life. It is here that his work on rhythm analysis is intriguing, though it has received less attention than his work on the social production of space. Rhythm is found "in urban life and movement through space".¹³⁹ Lefebvre asks: "what is a centre, if not a producer of rhythms?"¹⁴⁰ This link between centrality and movement therefore transforms centrality from a symbolic state to something that is socially constructed, based on spatial practice in the manner in which Aelius Aristides characterised Smyrna or the city of Rome.

Lefebvre's concept of centrality, constructed in the rhythms of urban life and movement through space, leads to Hillier's theories of urban morphology and movement. Hillier's mantra resonates with Lefebvre's, and with Saunier's notion of the "urban disposition", and it helps frame the examination of urban development in this thesis: "how we

¹³⁵ Newsome 2009a.

¹³⁶ Lefebvre 1991: 332.

¹³⁷ Lefebvre 1996: 208.

¹³⁸ On the division of Rome before the Augustan reorganisation of the city, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 264-9.

¹³⁹ Lefebvre 2004: viii.

¹⁴⁰ Lefebvre 2004: 98; see also 2003: 18-21.

design cities depends on how we understand them”.¹⁴¹ Movement is at the core of Hillier’s approach to centrality as a process. We can usefully divide his theories into two overlapping parts: natural movement and movement economy. Both of these influence the definition of centrality, although the themes pursued in this thesis, regarding the development of fora, are based more on the former than the latter. The theory of natural movement holds that because movement in urban contexts can, within reason, be from anywhere to anywhere else, shortcuts are created not because of ‘attractors’ but because of the layout of the street network itself.¹⁴² Accordingly, movement is based on distance minimisation. Hillier summarises his approach to natural movement as: “Good space is used space. Most urban space use is movement. Most movement is through movement”. The concept of movement and shortcuts is therefore a key variable in the formation of centrality. Indeed, on the theme of shortcuts in the Roman city, we can point to the Syrus’ directions given to Demea in Terence’s *Adelphoe*, the *locus classicus* on navigating the Roman city, including: “There is a much nearer way and much less chance of missing it”.¹⁴³ Relating to the forum more specifically, we have already seen that Phaedrus included the line that, as Aesop took too long a route on his way out to his chores, he made a hasty return through the shortcut of the forum.¹⁴⁴ Shortcuts, whether real or imaginary, were common.¹⁴⁵

Routes are made of three elements: an origin, a destination, and the space(s) passed through on the journey. Accordingly, the centrality of the spaces passed through is a by-product of the origin and the destination.¹⁴⁶ We might suggest that this is a rather rigid approach to space that denies cultural and historical variability in how movement was used. However, there are numerous examples for the city of Rome where this is the case in passages

¹⁴¹ Hillier 1996: 111.

¹⁴² Hillier *et al.* 1993; Hillier 1996: 120.

¹⁴³ Ter. *Ad.* 573-84, sane hac multo propius ibis et minor est erratio. See Ling 1990.

¹⁴⁴ Phaedr. *Fab.* 3.19, tum circumeunti fuerat quod iter longius effecit breuius: namque recta per forum.

¹⁴⁵ Newsome forthcoming 2011b discusses these issues at length.

¹⁴⁶ Hillier 1996: 120.

that discuss movement through the city. The urban centrality of the Forum Romanum, as we will see in Chapter 3, was related to its function as the place passed through on other routes.

Hillier's theory suggests that the prime motive for through movement is distance minimisation. This links centrality to accessibility. Indeed, where we talk of a centre being the most integrated space, we can also call it the space with the most potential for through movement. This notion underpins the discussion of the fora in Rome and Pompeii. How do changes to the through movement potential of any given space alter its centrality within the city? Hillier suggests that urban centrality is based on availability to alternative routes: wherever one moves in the centre, it should be possible to move to any other place through an easy and obvious route without having to go back on oneself.¹⁴⁷ We can usefully apply this logic of space to the imperial fora in Rome. The contrast between the open space of the Forum Romanum and the closed, circuitous space of the imperial fora, as recently discussed by La Rocca, could hardly be greater.¹⁴⁸ Finally, movement to the centre from the surrounding urban network should be straightforward, with obvious, identifiable entrances that are at all times available.¹⁴⁹ Again, we can examine our case studies from Rome and Pompeii for evidence of this logic of space. Essentially, Hillier's notion of centrality, like Lefebvre's, is one based on movement. They imply that changes to movement presuppose a change in centrality. Such themes will occupy the remaining chapters of this thesis.

2.3 *LOCUS CONSIDERATUR*: MOVEMENT AND SPACE

The previous section has introduced the theoretical basis for understanding centrality according to movement, but we must now say something of the evidential basis. In this way, our approach to Roman urban space is based not only on paradigms from the cultural

¹⁴⁷ Hillier 1999: 06.14.

¹⁴⁸ La Rocca 2006.

¹⁴⁹ Hillier 1999: 06.14.

sciences, but on paradigms from ancient Rome itself. As we are interested in urban space, and in the importance of movement in defining ‘place’, we can usefully begin by considering what was meant by the term *locus* (-i).

The notion that movement defined place is expressed by Varro: “where anything comes to a standstill is a place”.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, in attempting to tie motion, place and body together in their proper relationship, he states: “nor is there motion where there is not place and body, because the latter is that which is moved, the former is where to”.¹⁵¹ This concept of place is intrinsically linked to movement, in so far as place is defined as wherever movement is halted. In this sense, place is a destination, defined by the absence of movement but presupposing movement *to*. However, such a definition would deny the street its role as a place in its own right, rendering it instead merely the passage between other *loci*, and thus establishing a peculiarly modernist sense of space that is out of step with Roman attitudes. A similar bias may explain the definition of centrality as specific, formal places – the forum, for example. Simply, if *loci* are seen as destinations, then streets are not *loci*; if they are not *loci*, they cannot be centres. Yet this would be inaccurate.

In a preceding passage, Varro alternatively defines place as: “where there is motion is a place”.¹⁵² Place is thus alternatively defined as both where things move and where things have moved to. These two definitions, seemingly at odds with one another, cover the whole spectrum of movement and emphasise the importance of understanding both movement *through* and movement *to* a particular space.¹⁵³

This emphasis on movement is also evident in works where *locus* is considered but in which the definition of the term is not the primary aim of the author. We can see this in two

¹⁵⁰ Var. LL. 5.15, ubi quodque consistit, locus. Varro’s attitude to Roman movement is discussed in detail in Spencer forthcoming 2011.

¹⁵¹ Var. LL. 5.12, neque motis, ubi non locus et corpus, quod alterum est quod movetur alterum ubi.

¹⁵² Var. LL. 5.11, ubi agitator, locus.

¹⁵³ Newsome 2009b: 32–4.

similar treatises on the art of rhetoric from the first century B.C. and A.D. Cicero's *de Inventione* contains the following discussion on place:

“In considering the place where the act was performed, account is taken of what opportunity the place seems to have afforded for its performance. Opportunity, moreover, is a question of the size of the place, its distance from other places, whether remote or near, whether it is a solitary spot or **more crowded**, and finally it is a question of the nature of the place, of the actual site, of the vicinity and of the whole district”.¹⁵⁴

Place is thus not only considered according to its absolute but its relational properties. Such properties are not purely physical but are also socially constructed. It is in this context that the consideration of whether the space is solitary or crowded is important. Movement is thus implied in terms of both the physical accessibility of a place and in terms of the accumulation of people there. Quintilian follows *de Inventione* closely when discussing the appropriateness of particular actions for particular places: “Time and location also need special consideration [...] is it a public or private place, **crowded** or secluded...”¹⁵⁵

These brief considerations demonstrate that *celebritas* was important in forming a relative opinion of the nature of place. This is a perception of space. The importance of this for our rethinking of centrality can be further developed by considering the use of the associated term: *locus celeberrimus*.

¹⁵⁴ Cic. *de Inv.* 1.38, Locus consideratur, in quo res gesta sit, ex opportunitate, quam videatur habuisse ad negotium administrandum. Ea autem opportunitas quaeritur ex magnitudine, intervallo, longinquitate, propinquitate, solitudine, celebritate, natura ipsius loci et vicinitatis et totius regionis. *De Inv.* 1.8 directly contrasts a *locus celeberrimus* with a *locus desertus*.

¹⁵⁵ Quin. *Inst.* 1.1.47, Tempus quoque ac locus egent observatione propria [...] et loco publico privatone, celebri an secreto.

2.4 *LOCUS CELEBERRIMUS* AS AN OFFICIAL DECREE AND A SOCIAL RESPONSE

Having established that movement is important for the definition of space, and as levels of movement are not constant but vary from place to place, we might expect some definition of space that is based upon *relative* patterns of movement. For this, we can examine the use of the term *locus celeberrimus*, most conveniently considered a superlative spatial adjective, meaning the ‘busiest’ or ‘most frequented’ place. Thomas defines *loci celeberrimi* as: “places of great concentration [that imply] the high density and volume of the human traffic that congregated there, and so the greater possibility of renown”.¹⁵⁶ I follow this definition in the subsequent discussion.

This translation is not entirely straightforward. As an adjective, *celeber* can mean busy, frequented or much used, as this translation follows. But, as Thomas’ definition suggests, it can also mean famed, renowned or celebrated – the origin of our ‘celebrity’. The use of *celeberrimus* to mean ‘most renowned’ seems to be a natural result of patterns of movement. It relates to the exposure of a given item (statue, building, site) in urban space.

But in such instances, another adjective often seeks to clarify the distinction, wherein one relates to movement and the other relates to renown. Cicero, for example, says that his house was in the busiest (*celeberrimus*) and finest (*maximus*) part of the city.¹⁵⁷ The former does not presuppose the latter, nor vice versa.¹⁵⁸ This can be seen in the example of the *vicus Tuscus*, running from Forum Romanum to the Circus Maximus. The busy nature of this

¹⁵⁶ Thomas 2007a: 117. This interpretation of the term is also found in Stewart 2003, Gros 2005 and Trifilò 2008.

¹⁵⁷ Cic. *Dom.* 146, *urbis enim celeberrimae et maximae partes*. See also Cic. *In Verr.* 1.129, on the *aedes Castoris* a ‘celeberrimo clarrissimoque monumento’.

¹⁵⁸ In any case, a different adjective altogether might be preferred, as Amm. Marc. 16.10.13 on the rostra as a *locus perspectissimus*.

thoroughfare was emphasised by Cicero.¹⁵⁹ But Plautus had earlier characterised this area as less than reputable, and this character persisted into the first century A.D.¹⁶⁰ This suggests that the description of the area as a *locus celeberrimus* was based on the intensity of social activity there, regardless of the base nature of that activity. It is a spatial, not a social, superlative.

Still, some explanation remains as to why there are two terms for referring to crowded space: *celeberrimus* and *frequentissimus*. The link between ‘busyness’ and ‘renown’ might be underscored by the alternative use of *frequens*, and the associated *locus frequentissimus*. I would argue that while *frequentissimus* is a description of the space, *celeberrimus* is the description of the perception of that space. It is the difference between noting that a site ‘was crowded’, and noting that a site is ‘a crowded space’. This is further demonstrated by the fact that *frequentissimus* stems from a verb – *frequentare* – while *celeberrimus* stems from an adjective – *celeber*. I therefore suggest that the former relates to what is or was done in space; the latter relates to how that space is perceived.¹⁶¹ For this reason, the remainder of this section discusses only the latter.

¹⁵⁹ Cic. *in Verr.* 2.1.154, quis a signo Vortumni in circum Maximum venit quin is uno quoque gradu de avaritia tua commoneretur? quam tu viam tensorum atque pompae eius modi exegisti ut tu ipse illa ire non audeas. See also Livy 27.37.15, Inde vico Tusco Velabroque per Bovarium forum in clivum Publicium atque aedem Iunonis Reginae perrectum. For the crowding of the area, see Prop. 4.2.5-6; 49-50.

¹⁶⁰ Plaut. *Curc.* 480-4 mentions the *vicus Tuscus* explicitly, but also the immediate local area of behind the *aedes Castoris* and the *tabernae veteres* (the site of the later *Basilica Iulia*), as being the location of undesirables – loan-sharks, usurers and male prostitutes: sub veteribus, ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore/ pone aedem Castoris, ibi sunt subito quibus credas male / In Tusco vico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant/ vel qui ipsi vorsant vel qui aliis ubi vorsentur praebeant. Horace *Sat* 2.3.228 talks of the impious crowd of the *vicus Tuscus* – Tusci turba impia vici - and the *salax taberna* of Catullus 37 was in the vicinity. See Papi 2002 for an overview of this area.

¹⁶¹ Ov. *Ars* 1.147 refers to *frequens* while *F.* 4.391 refers to *celeber*. The former describes a crowded procession: at cum pompa frequens caelestibus ibit eburnis. The latter describes the nature of the circus once it is crowded with a procession: Circus erit pompa celebr numeroque deorum. *Celeber*

That *celeberrimus* is a superlative is important for how we consider centrality. It relates to relative, not absolute, spatial practice, in that a *locus celeberrimus* is *busier* than others. This helps us to form a perceptual hierarchy of place within the otherwise undifferentiated space of the Roman city. Considering *loci celeberrimi*, therefore, helps us to consider centrality as a perception of space formed by praxis. Surprisingly, given the interest in Roman urban space, there has been little engagement with this term.

Stewart's study of Roman statuary included a brief look at the significance of *locus celeberrimus*.¹⁶² This was included in an examination of how statuary related to the lived space of the urban population, and to urban movement. Stewart began by noting an example from Cirta, Numidia, where a decree was passed ordering the removal and rearranging of statues that had clogged the road through the forum.¹⁶³ This is an important example of the recognition and amendment of a specific problem in the use of urban space, and demonstrates the need to maintain movement over other considerations. The problem had evidently been caused by the zeal with which honorary statues jostled for position around the passage through the forum. This is because this location would have been a *locus celeberrimus*: the volume of traffic attracted the visual display of honorary statuary, and the persistence of that praxis meant that steps had to be taken to maintain a functioning traffic artery.¹⁶⁴ There are

does not simply describe the activity but describes the perception of space based on that activity. See a similar example in Cic. *In Verr.* 3.133, cum vero in foro celeberrimo tanta frequentia hoc.

¹⁶² Stewart 2003: 136-40.

¹⁶³ Stewart 2003: 135. *CIL* VIII 7046: VIAM COM[MEANTI] | BUS INCOMM[ODAM PAR] | TIM ADSTRUCT[IS CREPI] | DINIBUS AEQUA[TISSQUE] | STATUIS QUAE IT[ER TOTIUS] | FORI ANGUST[ABANT] | EX AUCTO[RITATE] | D. FONTEI FR[ONTONIANI]. Stewart notes that [par]tim adstruct[is] might also be reconstructed as 'raptim adstructis', 'with rapid construction'. This might appear more suitable in the dedication and would demonstrate the expediency with which this spatial change was demanded or expected.

¹⁶⁴ Placing honorific statuary at junctions relates to Lynch's concept of heightened attention at places of intersection and decision making in the urban landscape (1960: 72-3). Because one is required to make decisions at junctions, one pays more attention to that space, giving it "special prominence".

similar examples from Rome. In 158 B.C., M. Aemilius Lepidus was said to have removed statues from the *aedes Iuppiter Capitolinus*, because they were obstructing the surrounding colonnade.¹⁶⁵ Later, Suetonius tells of Caligula clearing statues from Campus Martius. These in turn had been brought there by Augustus from the *Area Capitolina*, ostensibly because that space had become too congested.¹⁶⁶

Following Stewart, Trifilò has further investigated the interaction between social display and spatial practice, again framed around the relationship between honorary statuary and *loci celeberrimi*.¹⁶⁷ Trifilò demonstrates how in imperial fora, *loci celeberrimi* would be reserved for imperial representation, forcing other groups to cluster in other spaces. This notion is supported by evidence where non-imperial citizens have been honoured with statuary, notable in the inscription because they have been given a location in the *locus celeberrimus* of the forum.¹⁶⁸ Again, this emphasises the link between spatial use and status. This differs from the Greek concept of the city and the location of monuments therein. Thomas notes how the Greek equivalent of *loci celeberrimi* – *topoi episēmotatoi* – derived from the perceived ‘monumentality’ of a space.¹⁶⁹ This is rather closer to Lefebvre’s *l’espace conçu* than the Latin, derived from the perception of the concentration of human traffic and associated with praxis: *l’espace perçu*.

¹⁶⁵ Livy 40.51.3, in 179 B.C. L. Piso, via Pliny (*HN*. 34.30), recorded the clearance of the *statuas circa forum*, except those set up by the will of the people or the Senate, by P. Cornelius Scipio and M. Popilius in 158 B.C. However, this was to curb the ambition and self-aggrandizement that led to such unsanctioned statuary, not to facilitate movement.

¹⁶⁶ Suet. *Cal.* 34: *statuas virorum inlustrium ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campus Martius. Angustum* is the same term used by Suetonius to describe the Forum Augustum (*Aug.* 56), as is discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁷ Trifilò 2008.

¹⁶⁸ For example, the *Decretum Tergestinum* (*CIL* V 532) from the reign of Antoninus Pius. Trifilò convincingly argues that the right to have a statue erected *in celeberrima fori nostri parte* is a particular honour, being out of sorts with standard practice.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas 2007a: 117.

The link between status and a *locus celeberrimus* can most immediately be seen in Suetonius' biography of Augustus. This opens with: "There are many indications that the Octavian family was in days of old a distinguished one at Velitrae; for not only was a *vicus* in the busiest part of the town (*celeberrima parte oppidi*) long ago called Octavian, but an altar was added there, consecrated by an Octavius".¹⁷⁰ It is telling that Suetonius chooses to open his account of the emperor by demonstrating the influence of his family on the *locus celeberrimus* of their town. It is for the status inferred by influence in such a location that Cicero wished to buy into a *locus celeberrimus*, as his detailed searches for *horti* near Rome clearly demonstrate.¹⁷¹ These *horti* had to be in public view in order that they attracted the most renown. But this public view, like that sought by Rome's suburban *villae*, was based on transitory traffic, which brings us back to the earlier discussion on the overlap of spatial use and social prominence.¹⁷² We need not then think it incongruous that *horti* in the peripheral Transtiberim might be considered *loci celeberrimi*, even if we consider *loci celeberrimi* to be analogous with centrality. As we have noted, centrality is defined in terms of praxis, not geography. Nor in the example of Cicero's *horti* was *celebritas* generated by the inherent fame of the land he wished to purchase. As has been noted, "Cicero's list of *horti* is no roll-call of the high society of the day".¹⁷³ His search for a *locus celeberrimus* was not the search for land that was already renowned, but land that was had potential for renown because of its

¹⁷⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 1, Gentem Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrate. On the significance of honorific names for *vici*, see Fallou & Guilhembet 2008. My proposed postdoctoral work will develop this important but neglected area of inquiry.

¹⁷¹ Numerous correspondences with Atticus in 45 B.C. detail his perceptions and aspirations: Cic. *Att.* 12.19.1, nihil enim video quod tam celebre esse posit; 12.23.3, Ostiensi Cotta celeberrimo loco sed pusillum loci; 12.37.2, sed nescio quo pacto celebritatem requiro; 13.29.2, sed celebritatem nullam tum habebat, nunc audio maximam. This last reference includes the observation that while a site had not formerly been a *locus celeberrimus*, it now was, reminding us that the use of space is a process.

¹⁷² On suburban *villae* positioned in *loci celeberrimi*, see Griesbach 2005: 115.

¹⁷³ Wallace-Hadrill 1998: 5.

physical disposition in or around the city and its road network.¹⁷⁴ This is aptly demonstrated by the gardens of Cotta, which Cicero described as sordid (*sordida*) and small (*pusilla*) but which were nevertheless a *locus celeberrimus* because of their prominent location on the Via Ostiensis.¹⁷⁵

On the issue of prominence, we have not only *locus celeberrimus* but also *locus oculatissimus* ('the most viewed place'). This overlap is important for demonstrating how we must be more critical with our terms, and more transparent in how we use them to support our own interpretation of centrality. For example, Morstein-Marx argued for the "historical and physical centrality" of the *Rostra* because it was considered a *locus oculatissimus*.¹⁷⁶ He did not, however, consider the *aedes Castoris* to be a central space, despite it being used for the holding of *contiones* and *comitia*, and despite it being considered a *locus celeberrimus*.¹⁷⁷ This reveals a theoretical bias towards visual prominence when discussing the "ideology of publicity".¹⁷⁸ But what the work on statuary has demonstrated is that the measure of a *locus celeberrimus* is volume of movement. It is therefore more local, and more practical, being a perception of space related to direct engagement. Examining the use of *locus celeberrimus* is one of the most direct ways by which we can examine the perception of spatial praxis.

This is particularly rewarding when we consider that, as a representation of space, the use of the term *locus celeberrimus* varied. As stated in Chapter 1, I do not intend to pursue the relative, 'psychogeographic' construction of space in this thesis but, rather, to try and establish common interpretative frameworks. The challenge is to use subjective representations in order to understand the broader, cultural attitudes to urban space that

¹⁷⁴ The locations of the *horti* were: on the Esquiline: Lamiani; *Transtiberim*: Cassiani, Clodiae, Cusinii, Damasippi, Drusi, Scapulani, Siliani, Trebonii; Via Ostiensis: Cottae; Via Appia: Crassipedis.

¹⁷⁵ Cic. *Att.* 12.23.3; 12.27.1.

¹⁷⁶ Morstein-Marx 2004: 59; Plin. *HN.* 34.24.

¹⁷⁷ On the *aedes Castoris* and *contiones*, Cic. *in Verr.* 1.129; as a *locus celeberrimus*, Cic. *in Verr.* 2.186. On the importance of the *aedes Castoris* in popular politics, see Sumi 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Morstein-Marx 2004: 9, based on Millar 1998: 45.

informed them. Because *locus celeberrimus* is related to patterns of use, I would suggest that examining the use of the term allows us to examine patterns of movement and the way in which changes to movement led to new representations. If Cicero and Pliny identify different *loci celeberrimi*, it is because space (and the use of that space) has changed, not because they are looking for two different things.

This demonstrable shift in the use of *locus celeberrimus* has recently been discussed by Gros, in relation to the *Septizodium*, built at the start of the third century A.D. by Septimius Severus, at the southeast of the Palatine.¹⁷⁹ In the mid-fourth century A.D., Ammianus Marcellinus characterised the *Septizodium* as a *locus celeberrimus*.¹⁸⁰ This, Gros suggested (perhaps a little too proscriptively) is in stark contrast to earlier uses of the term, which related to the *area* of the forum. He notes several key criteria: the meeting of several roads at this point, nearby shops and the *macellum*, and the presence of fountains. These things are what helped to bring people together in space, and the bringing together of people in space defined a *locus celeberrimus*. In short, centrality is created by the interaction of people. Movement has a generative function in creating certain *types* of space. In this sense, Ammianus Marcellinus' concept of the *locus celeberrimus* of the *Septizodium* is based on the same principles as Hillier's theory of centrality as a process and movement economy, outlined above. This example also serves to highlight the overlap, at the theoretical core of this thesis, between practice and representation. The *Septizodium* was not designed as a 'centre'. Indeed, if we follow the line of the *Historia Augusta*, it was conceived as an entrance for those approaching the city from Africa, by the Porta Capena.¹⁸¹ But, whatever its conception, it was later perceived and represented as a centre because of the spatial practice that surrounded it. This is the social production of space exemplified. Figure 2 shows the *Septizodium* in its local

¹⁷⁹ *CIL* VI 1032; Wiseman 1987. On the *Septizodium* see recently Lusnia 2004 and Thomas 2007b, who reconstructs a much longer monument that had hitherto been appreciated.

¹⁸⁰ Gros 2005: 212. *Amm. Marc.* 15.7.3, *Septemzodium convenisset celeberrimum locum*.

¹⁸¹ *SHA. Sept. Sev.* 24.3.

context. Immediately in front of the monument there appears to be a large square, defined by the edges of the buildings visible on the *Forma Urbis Romae*.¹⁸² This may be the piazza *ad Septem Vias*, known from post-classical sources. The fragments reveal an important node in the urban landscape.

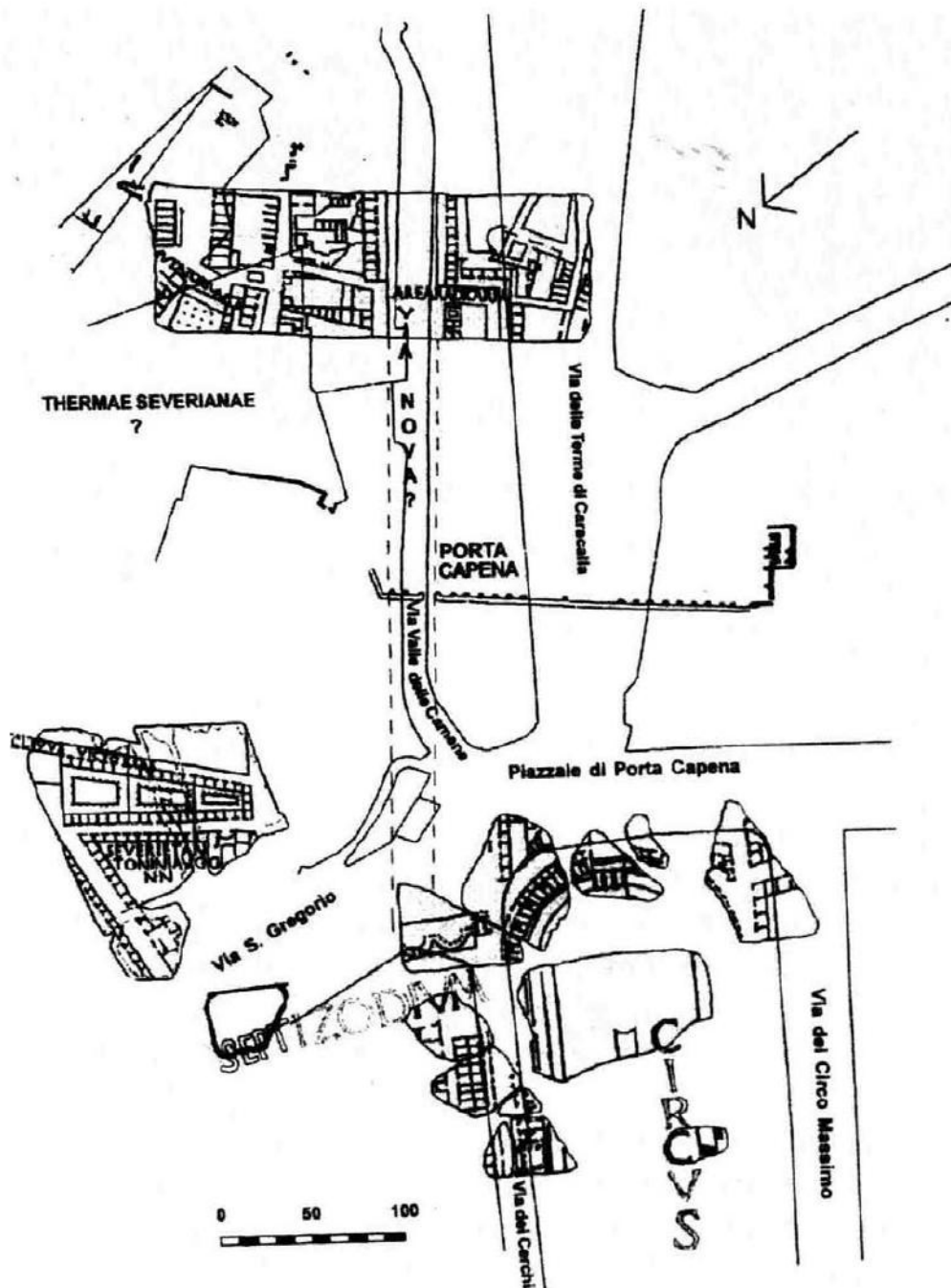


Figure 2 The *locus celeberrimus* of the *Septizodium* in relation to its local context (Thomas 2007b: fig. 1).

¹⁸² It is easy to discern a straight edge to three *insulae* blocks in the *FUR* fragments to the lower left. The other side of the square is defined by the row of *tabernae* that extend from the Circus Maximus.

Although both Stewart and Trifilò identify a common concept in the decisions behind the location of honorary statuary, epigraphic evidence attesting to the concept in Rome itself is rare. There are no surviving inscriptions from the Republic or early imperial period that employ the term *locus celeberrimus*.¹⁸³ Instead, we are reliant on literary sources to understand how this term was used. This is itself useful for understanding how the term was employed to represent space. The relative lack of epigraphy is not necessarily a lacuna in our evidence but reflects culturally divergent ways of classifying urban spaces. In this sense, the absence of *locus celeberrimus* in epigraphic sources from Rome reflects an absence of *locus celeberrimus* in official conceptions of space, as manifest in formal dedications. Instead, we find it used in what we might call unofficial, written representations of space. To frame this in Lefebvre's terms, the term *locus celeberrimus* is a space of representation, based on the response to specific spatial practices. It is not a concept of space, reified in urban planning or the formal recognition of the nature of a given space. The use of *locus celeberrimus* is responsive.

The paucity of the term in epigraphic sources from the capital is notwithstanding two notable examples in the Forum Romanum.¹⁸⁴ Both of these are later than the chronological focus of this thesis but are worth considering because they support the broader concept outlined above. Both commemorated the restoration of collapsed statues by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, *praefectus urbi* in either A.D. 377 or 416.¹⁸⁵ They were excavated near the steps of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae* in 1876 and restored to the *Basilica Iulia*, presumably on the basis of another inscription, which recorded his restoration of statues.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ The five inscriptions that may, with varying degrees of confidence, refer to *loci celeberrimi* are from the late fourth or fifth centuries A.D., see below.

¹⁸⁴ *CIL* VI 31883; 31884.

¹⁸⁵ Including works by Praxiteles, Polyclitus and Timarchos. Claridge: 1998: 90.

¹⁸⁶ *CIL* VI 1156: GABINIUS VETTIUS | PROBIANUS V C PRAEF URBI | STATUAM QUAE BASILI | CAE IULIAE A SE NOVITER | REPARATAE ORNAMENTO | ESSET ADIECIT. A second, incomplete inscription, *CIL* VI

The use of *ornamento* as well as *reparo* on the summary dedication may imply the addition of material not present before, and none of the works thought to have been (re-)erected by Probianus were listed by Pliny in the *Basilica Iulia* towards the end of the first century A.D.¹⁸⁷ Probianus' restoration works may therefore have involved the removal of fallen statues from one space to be erected in another, although if this were the case we might expect to find *translatus* as well as or instead of *reparatus*. The context for this programme of restoration was almost certainly the sack of A.D. 410, during which time the *Basilica Iulia* was burned. The bases can now be seen facing into the Forum Romanum (Figs. 3 and 4). They overlook the street that runs across the southern edge of the *area*. The text is the same on both bases, although with different spacing, and runs as follows:

CIL VI 31883

GABINIVS VETTIVS
PROBIANVS · VC ·
PRAEF · VRB
STATVAM FATALI
NECESSITATE CON
LABSAM CELEBERRI
MO VRBIS LOCO ADHI
BITA DILIGENTIA
REPARAVIT

CIL VI 31884

GABINIVS VETTIVS
PROBIANVS VC PRAEF
VRBI
STATVAM FATALI NECES
SITATE CONLABSAM
CELEBERRIMO VRBIS
LOCO ADHIBITA DILIGEN
TIA REPARAVIT

“Gabinus Vettius Probianus, most famous man, prefect of the city, with due diligence and through the requirement of fate, he restored the fallen statue to the most frequented spot in the city”.

1658 seems to commemorate the same event. See Jordan 1877: n.28-9. Both inscriptions are discussed in Marucchi 1883: 69–70.

¹⁸⁷ For example, according to Plin. *HN*. Books 34-6, the only statues by Praxiteles were bronzes in the *aedes Felicitas* and the *aedes Venus Victrix* (34.69), in the Campus Martius, and numerous marbles in the *Horti Serviliani*, the collection of Asinius Pollio, the *Area Capitolina* and the Porticus Octavia (36.23). The only works by Polyclitus were in Titus' imperial house (34.55) and the Porticus Octavia (36.35). The only works by Timarchos were in the Porticus Octavia and the *aedes Apollonis (in campo Martio)* (36.35).

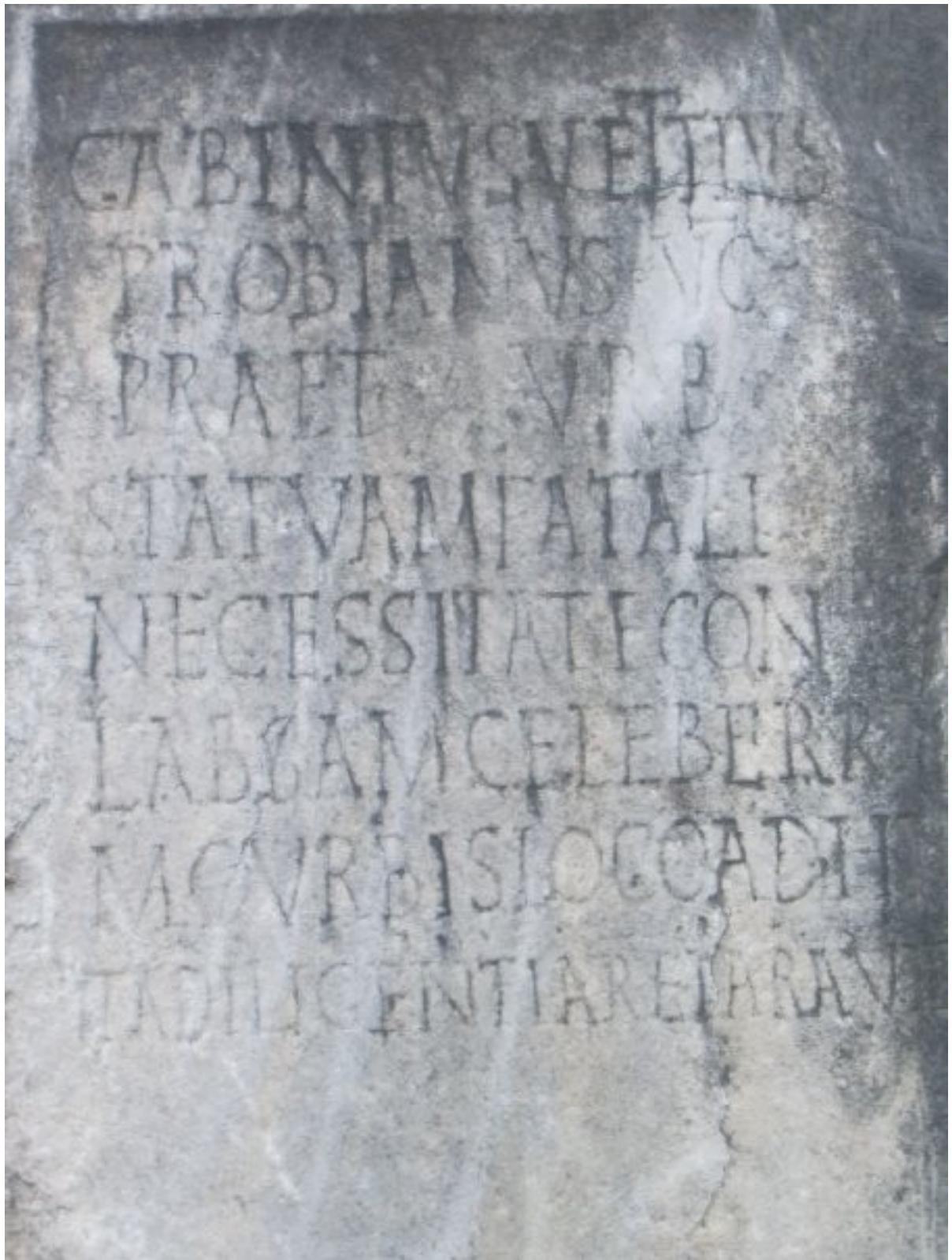


Figure 3 *CIL VI 31883* (ca. A.D. 416) commemorating the restoration of statuary to the *celeberrimo urbis loco*. *Basilica Iulia*, Forum Romanum. (Photo = author).



Figure 4 *CIL VI 31884* (ca. A.D. 416) commemorating the restoration of statuary to the *celeberrimo urbis loco*. *Basilica Iulia*, Forum Romanum. (Photo = author).

The text appears on one of the statues in the reconstruction of the *vicus Tuscus* by Gatteschi, produced under the auspices of the Comune di Roma (Fig. 5).



Figure 5 Gatteschi's reconstruction of the *vicus Tuscus*, in A.D. 367, showing *CIL VI 31884* (Gatteschi 1924).

I would argue that the use of *locus celeberrimus* in this instance is as a concept of space, thus belonging to the mentality of urban planning and symbolic representation, rather than as a common perception of space. It is unlikely that the *Basilica Iulia* was a *locus celeberrimus* in the early-fifth century as it may have been in the first. We might further suggest that the motives given for the restoration – *fatali necessitate* – renders this entire dedication rather quixotic. I would thus contend that the use of *locus celeberrimus* in this instance is not in response to contemporary spatial patterns but is an attempt to revive or regenerate the previous importance of this urban space, so that the restoration work itself is considered appropriately important. This can be supported by the evidence that the adjacent *aedes Castoris* (a *locus celeberrimus* in the late Republic and first century A.D., see below) seems to have been in a state of abandonment as early as the fourth century A.D., and so was not a

praxis-driven *locus celeberrimus* at that time.¹⁸⁸ We might say that this anomalous use of the term, in a formal commemoration and dedication, serves to highlight what we have said above: that, ordinarily, *loci celeberrimi* were constructed in response to spatial practice. It was a term related to the perception of space by its users, not the design of space by its planners.¹⁸⁹

That the official use of *locus celeberrimus* was rare is supported by two further examples discussing space in the Forum Romanum. We will recall the suggestion that the *Decretum Tergestinum* included the term *in celeberrimo fori nostri parte* because this was a particular honour to the recipient.¹⁹⁰ This can be read in two ways: first, the act of having a statue placed in the *locus celeberrimus* was particularly honorific; second: the act of commemorating this fact is particularly noteworthy. While the former is self-evident, we can understand the latter with reference to similar decrees in Rome, relating to *oculatissimus* and *celeberrimus*. The first of these concerns the dedication of a statue on the *Rostra* to Caius Octavius. This is just one in a series of statues in the Forum Romanum mentioned by Pliny, however it deserved special mention on account of the language used by the Senate.¹⁹¹ Octavius' statue must be placed in the most conspicuous location: *in oculatissimo loco*.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Nielsen & Poulsen 1992: 9.

¹⁸⁹ There are three other possible uses of *celeberrimus* in epigraphy from Rome, all connected with the case study areas, but all from the late fourth or fifth centuries A.D.: *CIL* VI 41344a = AE 1996, 00100a-b, found in the *Curia*, dating from A.D. 389-91; *CIL* VI 41347, found in the Forum Traiani, dating from A.D. 331-400, and *CIL* VI 41416 found somewhere in the Forum Romanum, dating from the sometime in the fifth century A.D. They are too fragmentary to allow for detailed discussion here. *CIL* VI 41344a is extrapolated from [CELEBERRI]MO LO[CO], while *CIL* VI 41416 is extrapolated from [LOCO CELEBER]RIMO. *CIL* VI 41416 may be reconstructed to read '[TRANS]/LATAM LOC[O CELEBERRIMO]', with similarities to the reparations of Probianus. Information retrieved from the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, at <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/>

¹⁹⁰ Trifilò 2008: 115-6.

¹⁹¹ Plin. *HN*. 34.24. ob unum SC. verbum.

¹⁹² Plin. *HN*. 34.24, in qua legatione interfecto senatus statuam poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris.

That Pliny marks the choice of words is enough to emphasise their importance and suggests that this kind of formal announcement of spatial hierarchy was rare.

As Pliny was aware of the wording of the decree, we might speculate that Octavius' statue carried the honour on its inscription, as did the example from Tergeste. Something similar has been suggested for a dedication in honour of Pallas, the freedman in charge of Claudius' private accounts. In reward for his revenue-enhancing Senatorial decree, amongst other honours, copies of the text were to be displayed in public. Pliny the Younger later tells us that a *locus celeberrimus* was chosen (*delectus est locus celeberrimus*).¹⁹³ That this was by an armoured statue of Julius Caesar implies that it was on or near the *aedes Divi Iuli* in the Forum Romanum, or alternatively within the Forum Iulium. The latter location was suggested by Corbier, who followed Pliny on the erection of a statue by Caesar *in foro suo*, and inferred that it was this statue onto which Pallas' decree was hung.¹⁹⁴ However, in the context of a *locus celeberrimus*, a location by the *aedes Divi Iuli*, in the Forum Romanum, is more convincing. We do not know if the deeds of Pallas, still visible to Pliny the Younger, carried the notice that they had been affixed in a *locus celeberrimus*, but Pliny suggests that this was crucial to the choice of site, and so we may infer as much.¹⁹⁵ In demonstrating that the term was rare in official records in Rome, it may seem fallacious to turn to two examples from Senatorial decrees. However, it is clear in the discussion of both that the Senatorial use of such spatial terminology was noteworthy because it was uncommon.

Corbier identifies the salient point about this spatial term. It specifies a particular type of place without specifying the location. That it was displayed at a *locus celeberrimus* is more significant than that it was displayed at the *aedes Divi Iuli*. It demonstrates how the choices of “des lieux d’affichage” were recognised by contemporaries in their mental image of the city.

¹⁹³ Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.14.

¹⁹⁴ Corbier 1977; Plin. *HN.* 34.18.

¹⁹⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.14, *delectus est celeberrimus locus*. Corbier 1997: 27 believed that Pliny was directly citing the Senatorial decree.

Assuming the decrees were visible at the junction of the *vicus Tuscus* and Forum Romanum, by the *aedes Divi Iuli* and *aedes Castoris*, the contemporary Roman would not need the reasons why this was considered a *locus celeberrimus* spelled out for them. It would be evident from the patterns of use. In order for *locus celeberrimus*, or associated spatial superlatives, to have any importance, they must be readily understood by contemporaries. We can therefore make culturally meaningful generalisations from the use of a term that is, essentially, a subjective representation of space.

Because this chapter is not a case by case examination of the use of *locus celeberrimus* in classical sources, we can limit the discussion to those references that discuss Rome between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D., in keeping with the broader theme of the study. Is it possible to say, *pace* Gros, that the use of *locus celeberrimus* had previously referred, in most cases, to the open space of the forum? Or do the sources suggest a more widespread use? It would seem the latter, as *locus celeberrimus* was used to refer not only to individual sites but to wider city districts, to specific hills and to general perceived locations *in media urbis*.¹⁹⁶ The common theme is movement and integration. The *locus celeberrimus* is not a particular place; it is a particular *type* of place. I link this to connectivity, or through movement potential. We can now examine those spaces in the Forum Romanum that were considered *loci celeberrimi*, and consider how they related to patterns of movement in the city.

¹⁹⁶ For regions, Cic. *Dom.* 129; 146; *Pro Mil.* 66; for hills, Front. *Aq.* 87 on the Caelian and Aventine as *celeberrimi colles*; for general areas, in this case the forum valley and the surrounding Capitoline and Palatine, Tac. *Hist.* 3.70.

2.5 *LOCI CELEBERRIMI* AND THE CONNECTIVITY OF CENTRAL ROME

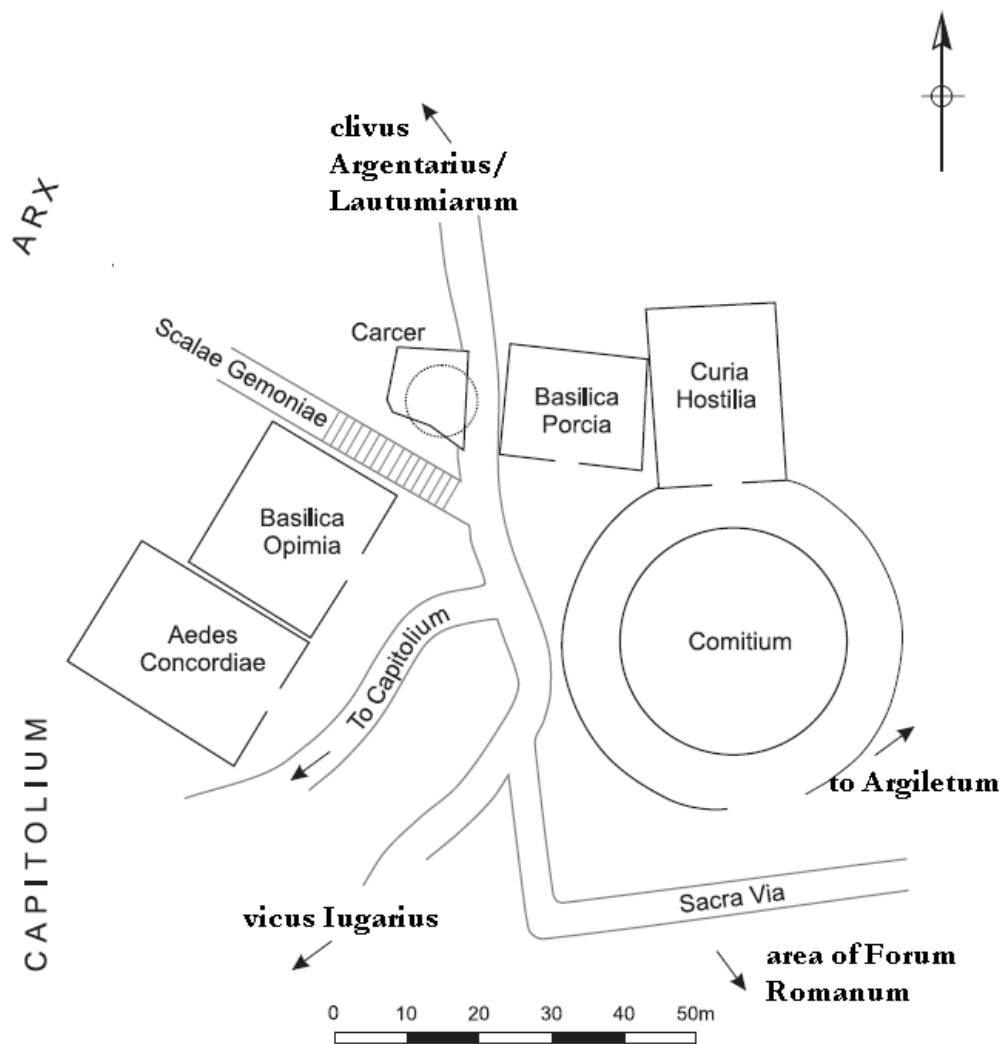
There are few references that we might straightforwardly reconcile with the open space of the Forum Romanum, and indeed those references that refer to spaces *in foro* refer not to the *area* itself but to associated monuments (see Chapter 3 on spaces *in foro* and *circa forum*).¹⁹⁷ Pliny mentions a statue of Pythagoras in a *locus celeberrimus: in cornibus comitii positas*.¹⁹⁸ That the place of assembly should be a *locus celeberrimus* is understandable.¹⁹⁹ However, this reference is not altogether clear, because of the rebuilding of the *Comitium* following the destruction of the *Curia Hostilia* and the surrounding spaces in the mid-first century B.C. Like those decrees discussed earlier in this chapter, this reference appears in the context of a dedication, and therefore suggests that the perceived *locus celeberrimus* was from the fourth century B.C., during the Samnite Wars, rather than from Pliny's own perception of space. This is a constant difficulty in considering the perception of space when authors write of monuments in their city. It is not always clear whether the perception of space as a *locus celeberrimus* should be taken to refer to the author's own period or is known to have motivated the original period under discussion, as gleaned from dedications and similar records.

¹⁹⁷ For a definition of *area* see Festus (Paul. Fest. 11), *area proprie dicitur locus vacuus*. Var. *LL*. 5.38, *in urbe loca pura areae*.

¹⁹⁸ Plin. *HN*. 34.26.

¹⁹⁹ Another spatial perception of the *Comitium* was that it was the vestibule of the *Curia Hostilia* – Livy 45.24.12, *in comitio, in vestibulo curiae*. On movement between the *Comitium* and the Forum Romanum, see Var. *Rus*. 1.2.9. In the Republican period, the *clivus Argentarius* may have been known as the (*vicus/clivus*) *Lautumiarum*, after the stone quarries on the slope of the Capitoline above the Carcer. The *Basilica Porcia*, at this end of the street from 184-52 B.C., was considered to be *in lautumiis* (Livy 39.44.7). See Cadoux 2008 on the general area.

Elsewhere in the Forum Romanum, Cicero mentions a statue of Lucius Opimius in a *locus celeberrimus*.²⁰⁰ We are not given the details of where this statue was, other than that it was *in foro*. It might thus have been in or around the *area*, although a more likely candidate would be near to the *aedes Concordiae*. Opimius built the temple in 121 B.C. following the death of Gracchus, and it was evidently frequently used for meetings of the Senate.²⁰¹ The *Basilica Opimia*, named after Lucius, stood alongside it and was no doubt constructed at the same time (fig. 6).²⁰²



²⁰⁰ Cic. *Sest.* 140.

²⁰¹ On Opimius' construction of the temple, see App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.3.26; Plut. *C. Grach.* 17.5-6. On its use for Senatorial business, see Cic. *Cat.* 3.21; *Sest.* 26. Cic. *Dom.* 11 talks of the mob crowding the temple in protest.

²⁰² Var. *LL.* 5.156, ubi Aedis Concordiae et Basilica Opimia.

Figure 6 The area to the northwest of the Forum Romanum in the Republic. The *aedes Concordiae* and the corner of the *Comitium*, both identified as *loci celeberrimi*, are at the convergence of several important routes (adapted from Cadoux 2008: fig. 1).

Cicero gives some mention of the context of the temple in patterns of movement, noting that conspirators and witnesses were being brought *through* the forum *to* the temple.²⁰³ That the temple was a *locus celeberrimus* might also be inferred from the dissenting graffiti carved upon it, under the cover of darkness.²⁰⁴ This reminds one of an episode in Livy in which Aristo, also under the cover of darkness, attached protests to the place where the magistrates held their sessions each day: in the *locus celeberrimus*.²⁰⁵ If a *locus celeberrimus* was the prime location for display, it was thus also the prime location for dissent.

For a parallel that has persisted in Rome, one can think of Pasquino – the first of the city’s ‘talking statues’, located at a busy hub and the location of choice for satirical attacks against the establishment. (fig. 7).²⁰⁶ The clustering of *pasquinades* on the north side of the statue reflects the dominant patterns of traffic, passing to and from the nearby Piazza Navona. Pasquino attests to the social production of space and the importance of movement in framing that production. The graffiti in the pediment of the *aedes Concordiae* would have responded to similar patterns, of its own time.

²⁰³ Cic. *Cat.* 3.21, per forum [...] in aedem Concordiae ducerentur.

²⁰⁴ Plut. *C. Grach.* 17.6, διὸ καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ νεῷ παρενέγραψάν τινες τὸν στίχον τοῦτον “ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναδὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ”.

²⁰⁵ Livy 34.61.14, Ariston Punico ingenio inter Poenos usus tabellas conscriptas celeberrimo loco super sedem cotidianam magistratuum prima uespera suspendit.

²⁰⁶ On Pasquino and the busy intersection at which he stands, see Nussdorfer 1987: 183, n.41; Gouwens 1998: 74-5.

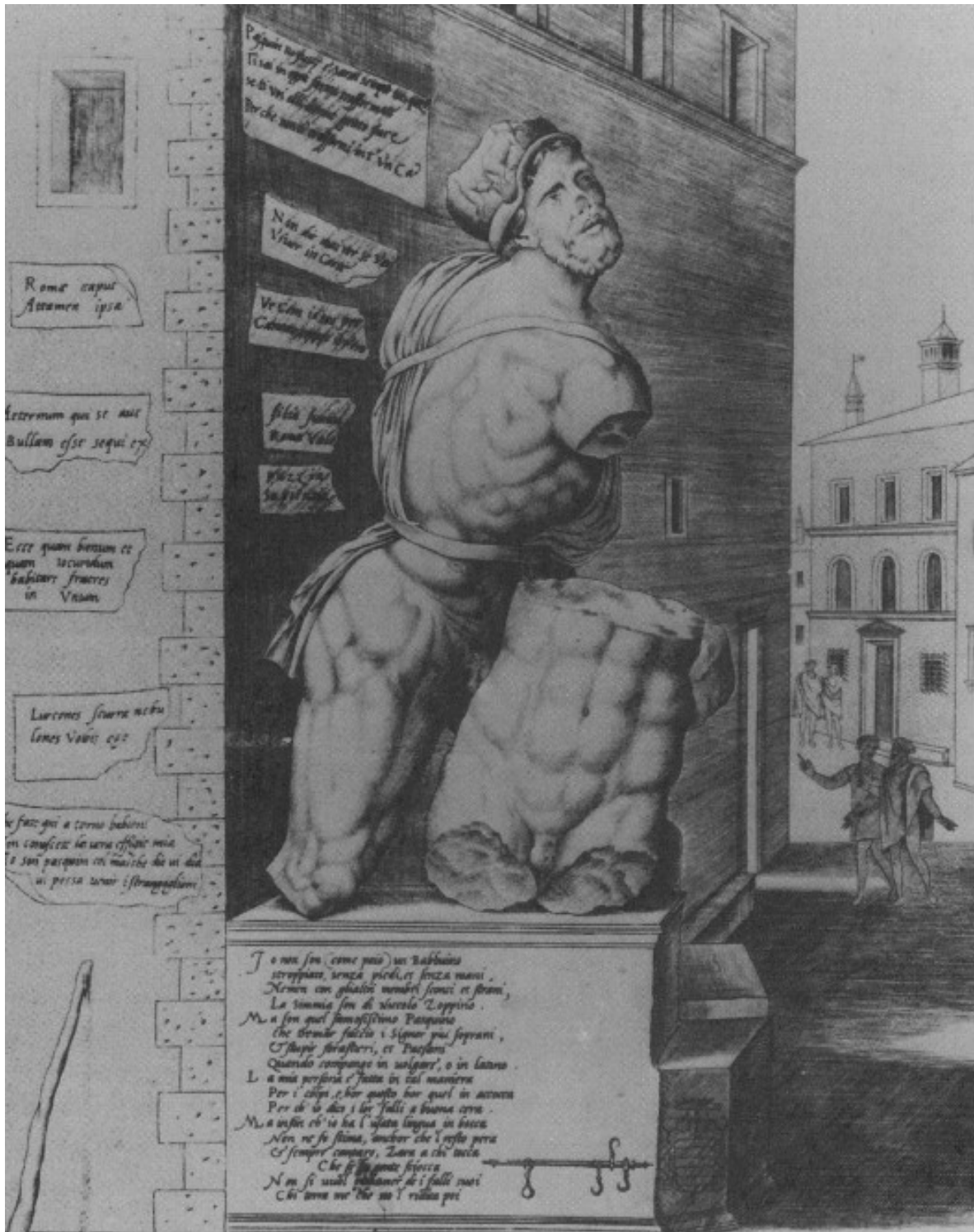


Figure 7 Pasquino at the corner of Piazza di Pasquino that leads to Piazza Navona, from an engraving by Antonio Lafréry (1550).

Returning to antiquity, from these examples we might thus infer that the *Comitium* and the *aedes Concordiae* were in the space of a *locus celeberrimus*. Both of these sites stood at the west end of the Forum Romanum, in the vicinity of a major road junction. One of these roads was the *clivus Argentarius*, which led around the north of the Capitoline toward the Campus

Martius (fig. 8). Piso owned property in this area, most likely somewhere north of the later Forum Iulium, at the *porta Fontinalis*.²⁰⁷ Though it was thus outside of the Forum Romanum, this house, Tacitus informs us, was in a *locus celeberrimus*.²⁰⁸



Figure 8 View looking east towards the Forum Romanum from the *clivus Argentarius*, the approach from the *Campus Martius* that led towards the *loci celeberrimi* of the *Comitium* and the *aedes Concordiae*. (Photo = Ray Laurence).

Therefore, at the west and northwest of the Forum Romanum and its environs, we can locate several spaces which were *loci celeberrimi*. This says more about the street network and the patterns of movement in this area than it does about the specific details of each individual location. We should also note that in earlier periods the *vicus Iugarius* may have defined a

²⁰⁷ Piso's house is said to have commanded a view over the Forum Romanum (Tac. *Ann.* 3.9.3, *domus foro imminens*) and was probably near the *Atrium Libertatis*, itself at an elevated position (Livy 43.16.13, *Censores extemplo in atrium Libertatis escenderunt*).

²⁰⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 3.9.3, *et celebritate loci nihil occultum*.

terrace above the forum and that this whole area formed a sort of node immediately outside the gates to the forum *area*. This organisation of space would have channelled much traffic to point described as a *locus celeberrimus*. We will discuss this area in more detail in Chapter 3. For now, we can consider the other side of the forum. Were there *loci celeberrimi* here, and what kind of street network might have generated this perception?

As noted above, the *aedes Castoris* was considered a *locus celeberrimus* by Cicero. The site occurs twice in his invective against Verres. In the first instance, he notes that the site is viewed by the eyes of the nation every day (thus highlighting the link with *oculatissimus*, noted above). It was where the Senate convened, and it was daily thronged with those who came to counsel on important affairs.²⁰⁹ Cicero again refers to the temple, rather more emphatically, as being, or being in, a *locus celeberrimus*: adjacent to and overlooking the Forum Romanum.²¹⁰

As discussed above, we might also reasonably infer that the dedication to Pallas stood in this area, in a *locus celeberrimus* on or by the *aedes Divi Iuli*. To the front of the temple passed the southern road of the forum's *area*, a continuation of that which ran between the *Regia* and the *aedes Vestae*. To the east of the temple ran a road separating the podium from the area of the *lacus Iuturnae*. This road was later suppressed in part by the *aedes Divi Iuli* and the *Arcus Augusti* (see Chapter 3). Finally, it seems likely that a road ran around the rear of the temple, flanked by *tabernae*. Access to the Palatine was added sometime under Caligula, which may correspond with the ramp south of Santa Maria Antiqua.²¹¹ Fragment 18a of the *Forma Urbis Romae* may show this street and the area to the southeast of the

²⁰⁹ Cic. *in Verr.* 2.1.129, in aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento — quod templum in oculis cotidianoque aspectu populi Romani positum est, quo saepe numero senatus convocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae cotidie advocaciones fiunt.

²¹⁰ Cic. *in Verr.* 2.5.186, vosque, omnium rerum forensium, consiliorum maximorum, legum iudiciorumque arbitri et testes celeberrimo in loco populi Romani locati, Castor et Pollux.

²¹¹ These changes, discussed in Chapter 3, are suggested in Suet. *Cal.* 22 and Cass. Dio 59.28.5. On the Caligulan date of the buildings south of the temple, see Coarelli 2008: 77-8.

temple, although Palombi has recently suggested that the fragment has been misidentified (fig. 9).²¹²

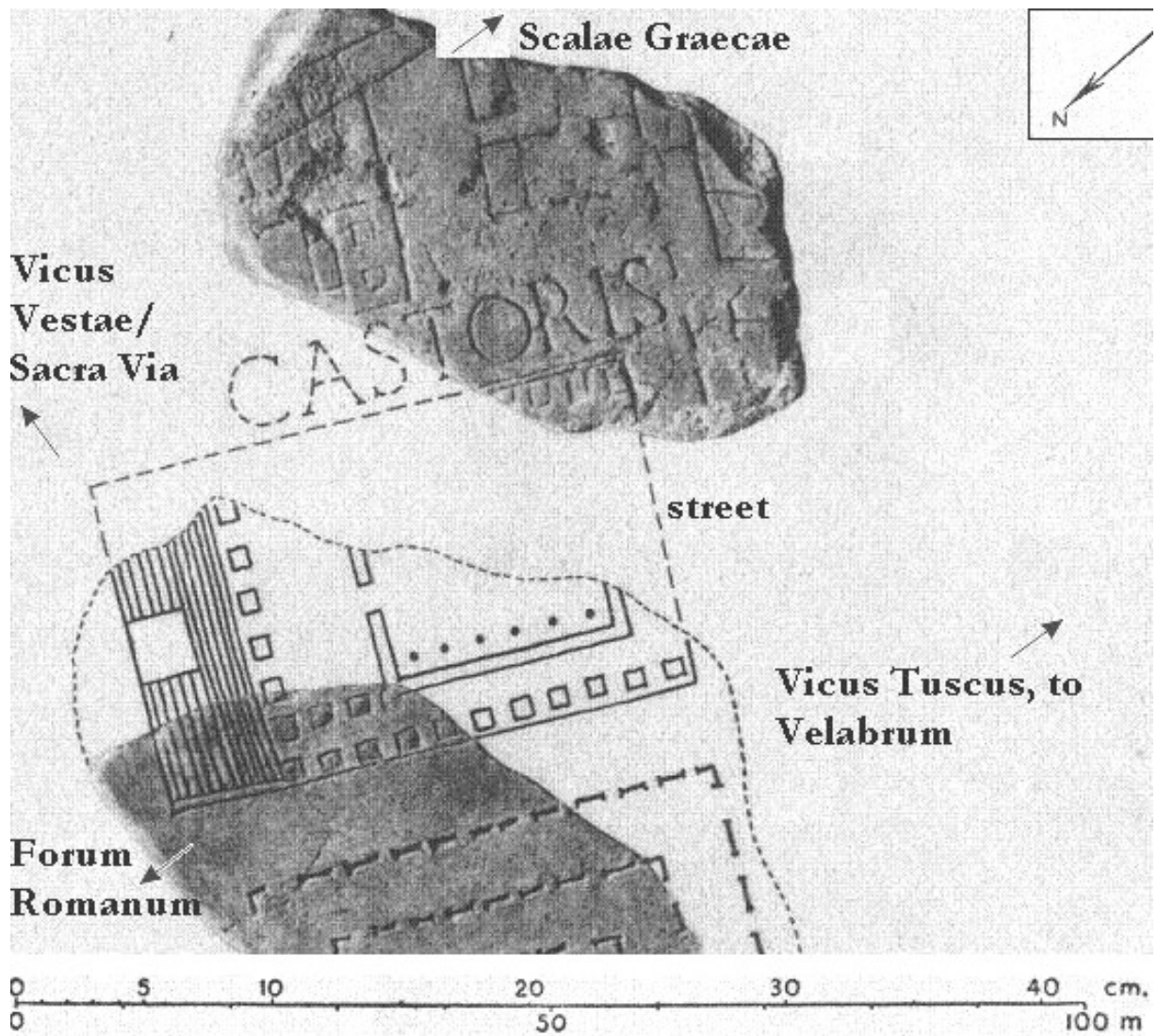


Figure 9 The area of the *aedes Castoris* on fragment 18a of the *Forma Urbis Romae* showing nearby routes (adapted from Carettoni *et al.* 1960: plate 21).

The street behind the temple would be a continuation of that to the south of the *Basilica Iulia*, flanked by *tabernae*, and no doubt ran the ca.100m to connect the *vicus Iugarius* with the

²¹² On the identification of *FUR* 18a and its place by the *aedes Castoris*, see Steinby 1989: 24–33. Palombi 2007 believes instead that the fragment is from the *lacus Pastoris* on the Oppian.

vicus Tuscus.²¹³ In addition to these streets, a stepped street or alley from *Nova Via* and the Palatine descended to the area southeast of the temple.²¹⁴ The temple was thus surrounded by streets and was a point of convergence of many routes.²¹⁵ It is one of the ‘signposts’ on Martial’s route from the Quirinal to the Palatine; it is a space passed by en route between two others.²¹⁶ I would contend that is not en route because it is a *locus celeberrimus*, it is a *locus celeberrimus* because it is en route. In Hillier’s terms, its centrality was generated by its location in the topography of natural movement in ancient Rome. That it was a *locus celeberrimus* is no surprise. While this indicates its importance in networks of space, we can also note the importance of the temple as a specific, symbolic destination for the *transvectio equitum*.²¹⁷

As at the west and northwest of the Forum Romanum, I would argue that the generative patterns of movement that led to the perception of a *locus celeberrimus* must be understood as part of a wider network. Of course, these temples and sites had specific functions that attracted movement to them, but more broadly we can say that their importance in the urban landscape was generated by patterns of movement in configured space. This returns us to the concept of natural movement and the creation of shortcuts. What we see by

²¹³ This has been tentatively identified as the *vicus Unguentarius*, see Papi 2002: fig. 1. Coarelli 2008: 72–4, fig. 19. The early form of this area is described by Livy 44.16.10 in the context of the purchase of land for the *Basilica Sempronia*. On the excavation of the structures beneath the *Basilica Iulia* see Carettoni & Fabbini 1961.

²¹⁴ Most likely the route described in Ov. *F.* 6.396, quae Nova Romano nunc Via iuncta foro est. The wider context of this area has recently been examined by Hurst, 2006, with rebuke in Wiseman 2007a *passim*. Coarelli 1983: 236–7 identified these steps as the *Scalae Graecae*.

²¹⁵ Nielsen & Poulsen 1992: 33–4.

²¹⁶ Mart. *Ep.* 1.70.3, Quaeris iter, dicam. Vicinum Castora canae transibis Vestae virineamque domum.

²¹⁷ Spencer 2007: 89–97 on the *transvectio*. This was, however, only a temporary stop, as the procession – ‘going through several parts of the city and the forum’ (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4) – then continued on to the Capitol. The procession originated at the *aedes Martis*, outside the *Porta Capena*. Livy 10.23.12 records the paving of this stretch of the Via Appia with *saxo quadrato* in 295 B.C. (10.23), repaved in *selce* in 189 B.C. (Livy 38.28).

plotting the occurrences of *loci celeberrimi* in and around the Forum Romanum is not a series of isolated monuments but a series of spaces that have a common characteristic: their proximity to the convergence of routes. We might even extend this further, and note that the *vicus Tuscus* led to or through the *locus celeberrimus* of the *Velabrum* to the *locus celeberrimus* of the Forum Boarium.²¹⁸ In the opposite direction from the junction at the east of the forum, if we follow Varro's account of its course, the *locus celeberrimus* of the *Sacra via* led to the *locus celeberrimus* of the Carinae (fig. 10).²¹⁹

This serves to remind us that urban space is continuous, movement through space is important for defining centrality, and that the reason for a space being a *locus celeberrimus* may have more to do with its integration in such routes – its through movement potential – rather than the fact that it was in 'the centre' of the city. By reading space in this way, we can appreciate more fully the reasons why certain spaces were considered in the ways they were. In order to understand perception, we must understand use, and this is dependent upon understanding movement and traffic.

Again, we must consider whether sites were primarily oriented for movement to or movement through. Pliny the Younger has an interesting example of the overlap of these practices. His description of a statue to Spurrina, which has been erected in a *locus celeberrimus*, is prefaced by his eagerness to look at it both as he stops there (*consistere*) and

²¹⁸ Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.228, Tuscus dicitur vicus qua itur ad Velabrum; Livy 27.37.15, inde vico Tusco Velabroque per bovarium forum in clivum Publicium; Ov. *F.* 6.477, pontibus et magno iuncta est celeberrima Circo area, quae posito de bove nomen habet.

²¹⁹ Var. *LL.* 5.47, Carinae pote a caerimonia, quod hinc oritur caput Sacrae Viae ab Streniae sacello quae pertinet in arcem. That the *Sacra via* was in part a *locus celeberrimus* is noted in Sen. *ad Marc.* 16.2, in sacra via, celeberrimo loco. That the Carinae was a *locus celeberrimus* is noted in Florus 2.18.4, in celeberrima parte urbis, Carinis. On the topography of the Carinae, see Ziółkowski 1996.

as he passes by (*commeare*).²²⁰ This *locus celeberrimus* is therefore a place of both movement to and movement through.

Having reviewed the use of *locus celeberrimus* around the Forum Romanum, we can now consider the same term as it was applied to the spaces of the imperial fora. What is clear is that they were different kinds of urban spaces, with different through movement potential. Chapters 3 and 4 will discuss this contrast in more detail.

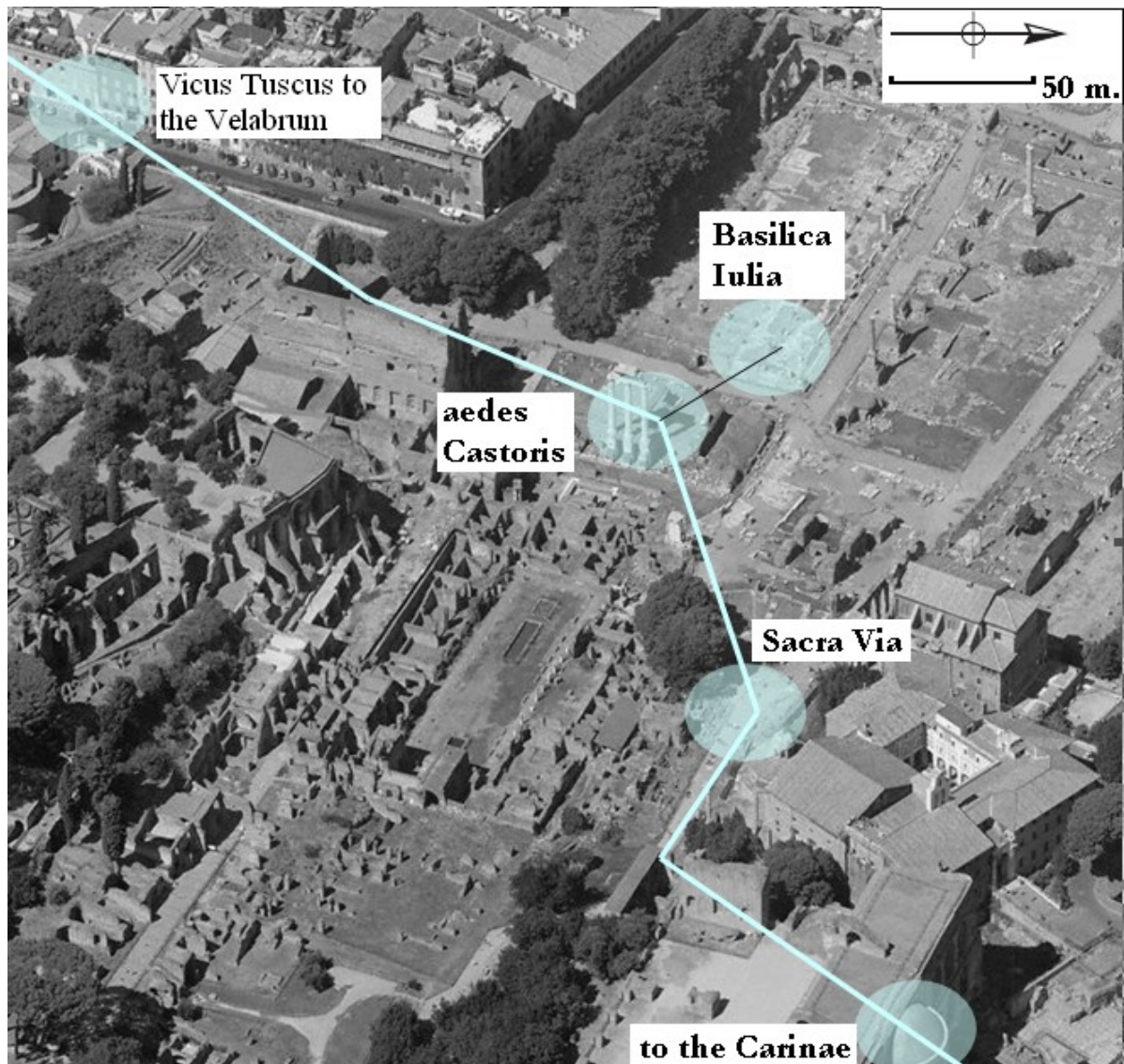


Figure 10 Map showing the connectivity of named *loci celeberrimi* to the east of the Forum Romanum.

²²⁰ See Chapter 3 on the significance of *consistere* for movement and the Forum Romanum. Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.6-9, Erit ergo pergratum mihi hanc effigiem eius subinde intueri subinde respicere, sub hac consistere praeter hanc *commeare*.

2.6 *LOCI CELEBERRIMI* AND THE IMPERIAL FORA

A characteristic, though not a defining feature, of the examples of *loci celeberrimi* discussed above has been their proximity to the Forum Romanum. Where *loci celeberrimi* are not close to the Forum Romanum, we can note that in many instances they are connected by a series of other *loci celeberrimi*, thus emphasising the importance of understanding routes through space. It is intriguing that we lack references to the imperial fora as *loci celeberrimi*, and this apparent pretermission requires explanation. Although the term was favoured by Cicero, from whom we have the most references, the survival of the term in Julio-Claudian, Flavian and late antique texts belies any suggestion that the absence of references to the imperial fora as *loci celeberrimi* is simply the result of different ways of describing space in the Republic and the Empire.

Ultimately, the rarity of references to the imperial fora as *loci celeberrimi* confirms the suggestion made earlier in this chapter that, while *celeber* might refer to the renown of a location, its more common usage was related to patterns of movement. As such, the imperial fora allow an interesting test case against the Forum Romanum: if these spaces are still famous and renowned, why are they not considered *loci celeberrimi*? The answer, I would argue, is because of their segregation from city movement. While the sites discussed above are *loci celeberrimi* on the basis of their location in ‘natural movement’ throughout the city, the imperial fora have no such characteristic. Because of a lack of such spatial practice, there is a lack of the concomitant perception and representation of space. Indeed, it is remarkable how few texts discuss the imperial fora at any length; there are none of the quotidian character that so routinely discuss the Forum Romanum.

As noted, one of the three inscriptions that may complement the use of *celeberrimo urbis loco* on the statue bases of Probianus at the *Basilica Iulia*, is *CIL* VI 41347, dating from sometime in the mid- to late-fourth century A.D. This was an honorific inscription, possibly from a statue base, found in the Forum Traiani. The surviving text is too fragmentary to

inspire confidence, although the tentative reconstruction may suggest that a statue was erected in a *locus celeberrimus* in order to serve as an exemplum.²²¹ The Forum Traiani evidently had areas for the display of statuary similar to that of the *summi viri* in the Forum Augustum. The transference of statues from other locations to the Forum Traiani parallels other examples of statuary being moved to a *locus celeberrimus*.²²² However, if this were the motivation, it is not entirely clear, as many of the statue bases recovered refer to their placement *in foro divi Traiani*, rather than *in celeberrimo urbis loco* (though by this time, one may have been metonymic with the other).²²³

More straightforward, perhaps, are two references to *loci celeberrimi* in the Forum Augustum.²²⁴ That Pliny specifies locations within the broader space of the forum is no surprise. It was common, especially in order to aid description, for the perception of larger public spaces to be divided into component parts.²²⁵ References to the Forum Traiani often note the different parts of the whole: the piazza itself was the *area fori*, within this the

²²¹ *CIL* VI 41347, MIRO [---?] / [---A]UCTORITATE / [---E]RUDITORI / [---? COMITI SACRI CONSIS]TORII / [--- LOCO CELEBER]RIMO MEMO/[R--- AD EXE]MPLUM / [--- STATUAM AURI SPLEND]ORE FUL/ [GENTEM ---]US IMPE/[RATOR ---] EXIT /

²²² On the transference of statuary, SHA., Alex. Sev. 26.4, statuas summorum virorum in foro Traiani conlocavit undique translatas. This may be the case for another of the three fragmentary inscriptions from the Forum Romanum, *CIL* VI 41416 (5th century A.D.): [STATUAM? EX] / SQUALEN[TIBUS RUINIS TRANS]/LATAM LOC[O CELEBERRIMO]. See also Trifilò 2008: 116 on an example from Verona (*CIL* V 3332, A.D. 380). A statue base from the late fourth century in the forum at Ostia records the transfer to there of a statue from a less reputable place, but does not specify that the new location is a *locus celeberrimus*: *CIL* XIV 04721, TRANSLATAM EX SOR/DENTIBUS LOCIS/ AB ORNATUM FORI. While *sorditus* can be translated as ‘sordid’, it can refer to something that is deemed unworthy, and this meaning might more closely correspond with the use of *celeber* as an antithetical term to mean ‘renowned’, by this period (as is the case for Probianus’ bases at the *Basilica Iulia*).

²²³ *CIL* VI 1710; 1721; 1727; 41140-2; 41144-6.

²²⁴ Plin. *HN*. 35.27; 35.94.

²²⁵ See, for example, references to different ‘parts’ of the Forum Romanum in Livy 3.38, *circumspectare omnibus fori partibus*; 3.49, *in forum ex altera parte inrumpit*; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.12.1; 11.30.1; 11.36.1.

equestrian statue stood *in atrio medio*, and at least one of the surrounding porticoes had its own given name – the *porticus Purpuretica* – based on the materials out of which it was constructed.²²⁶

What makes Pliny's reference to the busiest parts of the Forum Augustum interesting is that it specifies a distinction in practice and representation within the space of the forum, but does not indicate that the Forum Augustum itself was a *locus celeberrimus*. Pliny twice refers to a pair of paintings by Apelles in the *locus celeberrimus* of Augustus' forum, representing war and triumph, which depicted Alexander the Great but which Claudius altered to resemble Augustus himself.²²⁷ The precise location of these paintings is not stated explicitly. Given the necessity for consistent movement around the location, we can suppose that the paintings *in celeberrimis partibus* were along the porticoed edges of the forum. It has been noted that there are square cuttings in the north (and probably the south) wall of the room to the northwest of the forum, the so called Aula del Colosso, and that these could accommodate large paintings.²²⁸ The Aula del Colosso terminates the northern portico, but does not communicate directly with the entrance via the Arch of Drusus, flanking the temple. However, the arch was a later addition and the earlier arrangement would have made the entrance steps and the Aula del Colosso more immediately adjacent to one another.²²⁹ That

²²⁶ Gell. 13.25.2, in area fori; Amm. Marc. 16.10.15, in atrio medio; SHA. Prob. 2, usus etiam [ex] regestis scribarum porticus porphyreticae.

²²⁷ Plin. HN. 35.27, super omnes divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum. More detail is given at Plin. HN. 35.93-4, Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante. quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata; divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrisque excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere.

²²⁸ Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007: 59, figs. 32 and 50; Coarelli 2008: 111.

²²⁹ The arch was added by Tiberius in A.D. 19, Tac. Ann. 2.64, structi et arcus circum latera templi Martis Vltoris cum effigie Caesarum.

the Aula del Colosso was a frequented place was suggested by Martial, who admonished Tibullus for wandering in the fora; before the equestrian statues, the *aedes Martis Ultoris* and the colossal statue of Augustus.²³⁰

The grouping of such works near the entrances, and therefore in potentially the busiest spaces, is confirmed by other references. Pliny also notes the area in front of the *aedes Martis Ultoris*, and the area in front of an ivory figure of Apollo.²³¹ While the area *ante Martis Ultoris aedem* is clearly not by an entrance but is in the centre of the piazza, the area *ante Apollinem* may have been at an entrance. Pausanias noted the presence of an image of Athena Alea, which was carved from ivory.²³² He says the figure was as you entered the forum.²³³ It is plausible that ivories of Apollo and Athena flanked each of the two entrances either side of the *aedes Martis Ultoris*; both Apollo and Athena embodied the concept of justice, which would represent the purpose of this new space as a court of law (see Chapter 4).

This excursus on *loci celeberrimi* within the Forum Augustum should not distract us from the fact that they are the only two references to *loci celeberrimi* relating to the imperial fora. Moreover, as noted above, they do not discuss the forum as a *locus celeberrimus*, but only discuss which part within it is the busiest. This is relative, as are other references to *loci celeberrimi* discussed throughout this chapter. But it is also restricted, in the sense that the criteria against which to judge relative levels of movement and interaction are set within the forum itself. Therefore, it need not necessarily lead us to conclude that the Forum Augustum was particularly busy or was characterised by the intensity of movement that would lead it to be considered a *locus celeberrimus* itself. There could be *loci celeberrimi* within the Forum Augustum even if the Forum Augustum was not itself accommodating of such status because

²³⁰ Mart. *Ep.* 8.44.6-8, foroque triplici sparsus ante equos omnis aedemque Martis et colosson Augusti curris per omnis tertiasque quintasque.

²³¹ Plin *HN.* 7.183, ante Apollinem eboreum qui est in foro Augusti; 34.48, ex quibus duae ante Martis Ultoris aedem dicatae sunt.

²³² On the figure and its removal to Rome by Augustus, Paus. 8.46.1.

²³³ Paus. 8.46.4, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου.

it lacked significant through movement potential. We can consider this issue in more detail when we examine the imperial fora in Chapter 4.

2.7 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has introduced the theory that movement defines centrality. It has highlighted the role of ‘natural movement’ and the importance of understanding spaces according to how they formed part of wider routes through the city. In considering the use of the term *locus celeberrimus*, and the physical disposition of those sites to which it was applied around our case study area, we can suggest that a similar understanding of space informed Roman perceptions of their city. Importantly, though the theoretical framework for such thinking is informed by studies of modern urban morphology, the evidence for the validity of that framework in this thesis is very much from antiquity.

In particular, this chapter has helped to set our case study areas in context. This chapter has helped to improve our understanding of how these spaces were used and perceived by considering their physical connectivity, and the ways in which movement between different places influenced the perception of particular locales. The example of the northwest of the Forum Romanum is an egregious one. The *Comitium* and the *aedes Concordiae* were *loci celeberrimi*, but not because of any objective monumentality. Rather, they were considered as such because they were within a particular configuration of space that channelled movement to this area. That the designation of *locus celeberrimus* extended away from the forum to Piso’s house, by the principal approach of the *clivus Argentarius*, is further indication that the perception of these spaces should be tied to wider systems of movement. In the case of the *clivus Argentarius*, this was because it was the main thoroughfare between the forum and the *Campus Martius*. This chapter therefore represents an advance on previous works which have failed to consider physical spaces – and the perceptions of those spaces –

as interrelated. It vindicates a study of movement by contributing to how we understand the kinetic space of the city and its influence upon perception.

Having demonstrated the importance of movement and the connectivity of space as important factors in understanding the relative centrality of a given place, we can now turn to the first of our case studies. Chapter 3 develops some of the issues raised in this chapter by examining in detail the through movement potential of the Forum Romanum. It demonstrates how the centrality of the Forum Romanum was linked to its privileged place within wider networks of movement through the city, in which the theory of ‘natural movement’ can be vividly seen in the common perception of the forum as a shortcut. The example of *loci celeberrimi* around the northwest of the Forum Romanum indicates movement concentrated at that particular location. It is worth considering why this might have been the case, and so we need to examine the development of the space of the forum in more detail. It may be argued that the northwest of the forum was barred with gates in the late Republic, creating a distinction between the space inside and the space outside. In this instance, the concentration of movement and the designation of *locus celeberrimus* would be immediately outside of the principal access to the Forum Romanum. This, and similar themes, will be examined in detail in Chapter 3, which develops the preceding discussion by both setting the Forum Romanum in context within the routes that led into it, before considering how space was progressively managed and restricted.

The gradual changes to movement to and through the Forum Romanum allows us to see the emergence of a particular spatial habit in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period. Chapter 4 then considers the logic of space that informed the development of the imperial fora and reveals fundamentally different attitudes to movement and accessibility to those which characterised the earlier Forum Romanum. Returning to the theme of through movement potential developed in this chapter, the following chapters demonstrate that while the Forum Romanum was a place to move *through*, the imperial fora were places to move *to*. This

distinction explains the lack of references to the imperial fora as *loci celeberrimi*, and reinforces the links between spatial practice and spatial representation that have been highlighted in this chapter.

3. THE FORUM ROMANUM

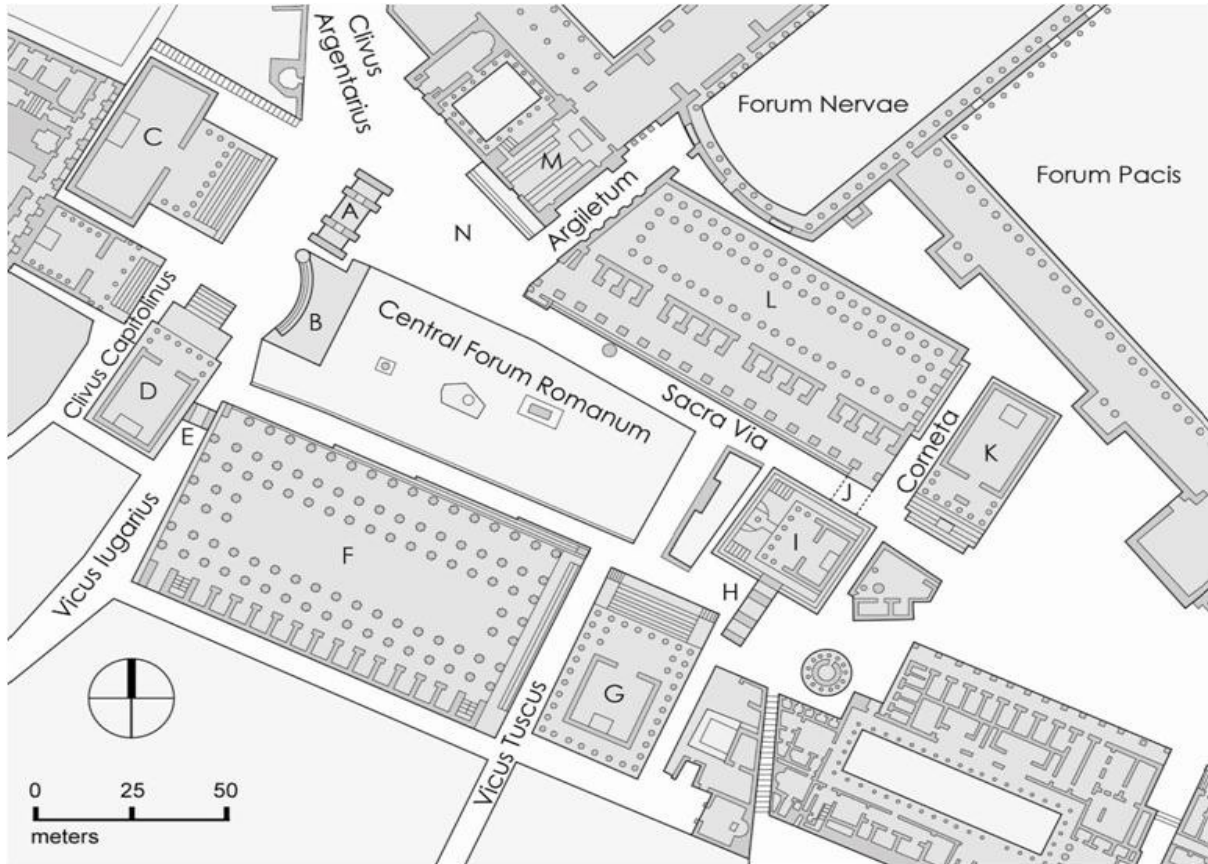


Figure 11 The Forum Romanum showing sites mentioned in Chapter 3 (image courtesy of Diane Favro)

- A: The Arch of Septimius Severus
- B: Rostra Augusti
- C: Aedes Concordiae
- D: Aedes Saturni
- E: Arcus Tiberii
- F: Basilica Iulia
- G: Aedes Castoris
- H: Arcus Augusti
- I: Aedes divi Iuli
- J: Probable location of the Fornix Fabianus or second Augustan arch
- K: Aedes divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae
- L: Basilica Aemilia
- M: Curia Iulia
- N: Area of the earlier Comitium and Lapis Niger

3. THE FORUM ROMANUM

“Cette place est plutôt un espace et non un arrangement de bâtimens cimetrisés.

{C’est} un espace qu’on appelle place”²³⁴

A visiting financier wrote these words of Piazza di Spagna in 1773, to contrast the piazze in Rome with those in his native Paris.²³⁵ While those in the latter city, exemplified by the Place des Vosges, were formed by the harmonious arrangement of architectures, those in Rome were nothing more than voids in the urban landscape; the *locus vacuus* formed where roads converged, lacking any formal definition from the network of streets that flowed into it. In 1748, Piranesi captured the character of the place as one defined by the vitality of urban movement. Five streets run into the piazza, most noticeably Via di Babuino (at the left of fig. 12), all the way from Piazza del Popolo, and people can be seen congregating around the fountain below the famous Scalinata della Trinità dei Monti.²³⁶ The monumental steps themselves are thinly occupied. It is movement into and through the dusty square that characterised this space. The piazza may as yet be unpaved, and the route through from end to end not formalised by the clear continuation of the adjacent streets, but patterns of natural movement shape interaction within the busy space. In terms of the definition of place outlined in Chapter 2, this is a *locus celeberrimus* through and through.

²³⁴ Bergeret de Grancourt, *Voyage d’Italie*, December 1773.

²³⁵ Discussed in Gross 1990: 15-6.

²³⁶ On space and movement in the piazze of High Baroque Rome, see Zucker 1955.



Figure 12 Giambattista Piranesi, *Veduta di Piazza di Spagna* (1748).

We can say something similar of the Forum Romanum between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D. This chapter builds on the discussion in Chapter 2 by examining the Forum Romanum in terms of natural movement. The centrality of the forum was related to its physical disposition and its through movement potential. This chapter does not aim to write a narrative history of the topographical development of the Forum Romanum, for which excellent surveys already exist, except where those developments are particularly important for understanding changes to patterns of movement.²³⁷ Instead, it compiles the textual evidence for perceptions of movement to and through the forum, and examines the archaeological evidence for how such movement changed over time.

²³⁷ The landmark works remain Coarelli 1983 and 1985. Detailed and accessible summaries are provided in Purcell 1995a and 1995b; Tagliamonte 1995; Coarelli 2008. Watkin 2009 presents an overview of the history of the forum as a site, but is not concerned with historical topography (but see 11-29).

The chapter begins by setting the forum in its wider context of the city of Rome, considering the use of the rather imprecise toponym – *in media urbis*. The position of the forum within the valley in the middle of the city allows one to consider it as ‘downtown’. While this is a toponym with modern connotations, we can recognise something similar in perceptions of movement in ancient Rome with the use of the verb *descendere*. While this has a broader meaning of descending, the term was often applied to describe specific movement between the *Sacra via* and the Forum Romanum. This is, of course, descriptive – the *Sacra via* does descend towards the forum – but its synonymy with ‘going to the forum’, normally for the purposes of business, is telling, and in any case only expresses movement in one direction (westwards). As the *Sacra via* was evidently a two-way street, this reveals that the dominant perception of the street was shaped by the dominant practice. While *descendere* thus captures the dynamic of movement *to*, a fundamental part of the Forum Romanum was its role in permitting movement *through*. Its position in the city naturally made it one of the most logical shortcuts for any number of routes across Rome.

In order to understand movement to and through the forum, we need to consider from where that movement originated. The chapter therefore discusses the streets that led to the forum, and considers their own relationship to urban movement. Not only was the forum a large nodal space, but the streets that ran into it were themselves from other important nodes – the end of the *via Lata*, the *Argiletum*, the *Meta Sudans*, the *compitum Acilii*, the Forum Boarium. To understand the Forum Romanum we must engage with these spaces that surrounded and led to it, something that has been hitherto ignored in either architectural or historical scholarship. Considering the relationship between this site and the wider city allows us to understand the Forum Romanum as a kinetic urban space, rather than as a static agglomeration of monumental architecture. It demonstrates further how spatial practice was based upon connectivity with other parts of the city of Rome, and how practice influenced representations of this area.

Having discussed the Forum Romanum as both a space of movement to and movement through, it is important to understand the management of movement within the space. At this point the discussion focusses on possible examples of control and restrictions on movement within the forum piazza and between the buildings that surrounded it. I contend that while the Forum Romanum remained an important route for through movement, we can observe an increasing habit of enclosing space over time. It is this habit of enclosure, implying inaccessibility and restrictions on movement that gave rise to the particular approach to public urban space that informed the later imperial fora. This chapter therefore serves not only to provide a detailed examination of movement in the Forum Romanum but to prompt the discussion of the imperial fora by pointing to the emergence of a particular cultural, spatial habit.

3.1 DOWNTOWN, *IN MEDIA URBIS*

The physical centrality of the Forum Romanum is a legacy of its position relative to the hills of Rome (Fig. 13). The geology of the valley of the forum has been investigated in recent years, in order that the origins of Rome's 'central' space might be comprehended on the basis of stratigraphical data.²³⁸ Ammerman demonstrated that what Gjerstad had interpreted as hut strata immediately below the level of the first forum paving were deposits of landfill, necessary to reclaim the forum from its original level, which was subject to annual flooding.²³⁹ This flooding came from the river Tiber, as well as the surface runoff from the surrounding hills.²⁴⁰ It is not my intention to discuss this change in our understanding of the

²³⁸ Ammerman 1990 on the forum basin; 1996 on the *Comitium*.

²³⁹ For the hut strata, see Gjerstad 1953 (levels 23-8); reinterpreted by Ammerman 1990; on the flooding of the Tiber in antiquity, see Aldrete 2007. See Ov. *F.* 6.401-6, hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes [...] nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.

²⁴⁰ Ammerman 1990: 636.

development of the forum valley, for this lies in a period centuries before that being addressed here. However, it is important to recognise two features: first, that the forum had been constructed in an area formerly used for burial – and thus the periphery had become ‘a city centre’;²⁴¹ second, that drainage of the central area thereafter was related to the *cloaca Maxima*.²⁴²



Figure 13 The location of the Forum Romanum (centre, n.6) relative to the hills of Rome (image courtesy of Diane Favro).

²⁴¹ Coarelli 2008: 44.

²⁴² Attributed by Livy to Tarquinius Superbus, 1.38.6, Et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccant. On the *cloaca Maxima* see Bauer 1993.

A point of interest is the relationship between sewers and road systems. The discovery of sewers is often taken as proxy for the location of streets.²⁴³ The *cloaca Maxima* ran beneath the *Argiletum*, into the Forum Romanum from the direction of the *Subura*, and to the south its course can be observed parallel to the *vicus Tuscus*, towards the *Velabrum* and on to the Tiber.²⁴⁴ This promoted the notion that the Forum Romanum developed around the point of convergence of existing routes. Rykwert commented that the forum “seems to have been connected in some way with the *decussis* of the *cardo et decumanus maximi*”.²⁴⁵ From this we must assume that Rykwert’s *cardo* was the *Argiletum*, crossing to the *vicus Iugarius*; his *decumanus* was the *Sacra via*, perhaps crossing to the *clivus Argentarius*. While this is a little simplistic, we can nevertheless point to the Forum Romanum as a significant node in Rome’s reconfigured landscape.

The *cloaca Maxima* was considered by Pliny to flow through the middle of the city.²⁴⁶ Other references to the ‘middle of the city’ are less specific but we can still say something of the general use of the term where relevant to patterns of urban movement. We have discussed the basic components of routes in Chapter 2, and of most help for understanding the term are those sources that include an origin and a destination, with *in media urbis* somewhere in between. Livy provides one such example, discussing the movement of troops from the *porta Collina* to the Aventine.²⁴⁷ This is described as moving through the middle of the city, though

²⁴³ See Livy 5.55, *Ea est causa ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta*. From an archaeological perspective, Antonio Muñoz commented in 1936: “Perche seguendo queste fogne generalmente la linea esterna degli edifice, possono fornire preziosi elementi per conoscere la pianta di quella parte dei fori che non e stata esplorata”, in Bellanca 2003: 382.

²⁴⁴ On the *cloaca Maxima* in the forum, see Plaut. *Curc.* 476, *in medio propter canalem*. The relationship between the *cloaca Maxima* and the streets above it is clear in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.67.5, and Plin. *HN.* 36.106, *trahuntur moles superne tantae non succumbentibus cavis operas*.

²⁴⁵ Rykwert 1976: 59. Dupont 1994: 137 may have Rykwert in mind when he says: “Rome has been painstaking searched for the two main axes [...] but in vain”.

²⁴⁶ Plin. *HN.* 36.94.

²⁴⁷ Livy 3.51, *Porta Collina urbem intrauere sub signis, mediaque urbe agmine in Auentinum*.

the precise route between the two is not clear. As the *porta Collina* was on the north of the city, near the *Castra Praetoria*, and the Aventine was on the south, we might reasonably infer that the route through the ‘middle of the city’ was down the *vicus Longus*, and thereafter through the Forum Romanum. This connected to the *vicus Tuscus* which led, as we saw in Chapter 2, to the Aventine by way of the Forum Boarium.²⁴⁸ The Forum Romanum might also be considered the middle of the city in Livy’s description of a wolf rushing into the city in 196 B.C. This entered through the *porta Esquilina*, made its way to the forum, then by way of the *vicus Tuscus* and the *Cermalus* it exited through the *porta Capena*.²⁴⁹ Livy refers to the area as a *locus frequentissimus*. This is not the forum itself but the route there – the busy streets of the Esquiline.²⁵⁰

The route towards the forum from the area inside the *porta Esquilina* was relatively direct. The *Argiletum* led to the Forum Romanum directly, while the *clivus Pullius* led to the southwest of the *Fagutal*, the probable location of the *Carinae*.²⁵¹ It was along such a route that Ovid imagined flute players from Tibur, lulled into sleep, arriving at the Forum Romanum over night. Their *plaustrum* moved from *media urbis* and ended *in medio foro*.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Livy 27.37.15, inde vico Tusco Velabroque per bovarium forum in clivum Publicum.

²⁴⁹ Livy 33.26.8-9, lupus Esquilina porta ingressus, frequentissima parte urbis cum in forum decurrisset, Tusco uico atque inde Cermalo per portam Capenam prope intactus euaserat. A similar portent is presented by Cassius Dio, who says that in 16 B.C. a wolf entered the forum by the *Sacra via*: 54.19.7, λύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσὼν ἀνθρώπους ἔφθειρε.

²⁵⁰ For a discussion of movement and space in this area, see Malmberg 2009.

²⁵¹ For more on this area, see Malmberg 2009, with figs. 1 and 4. These streets, in particular the *vicus Sabuci*, were changed following the construction of the *Thermae Traiani* in the early second century A.D. Fragment 11a of the *Forma Urbis Romae* shows the existing street network running up against the new complex, which truncates the old routes. This particular change is outside of the remit of this thesis, although the removal of one of the arteries towards the area of the fora could be related to their segregation from city traffic, discussed below.

²⁵² Ov. *F.* 6.683-4, iamque per Esquilias Romanam intraverat urbem, et mane in medio plaustra fuere foro. Recalling the discussion in Chapter 1, it is worth noting that the *plaustrum* moves by night, perhaps reflecting the restrictions on *plaustra* throughout the day. The topographical designation *in*

Elsewhere, Livy referred to the *Carcer* as being in *media urbis*, near to the forum.²⁵³

In the context of the spaces described in Chapter 2, the *Carcer* stood beside the *clivus Argentarius*, between the *loci celeberrimi* of Piso's house further west and the *Comitium* and *aedes Concordiae* further east. The forum itself is not the *media urbis*, only a part of it. But the general, rather loose applicability of this term to the forum area is also found in Plutarch, who describes the removal of the body of the murdered Tiberius Gracchus from the Capitoline to the Tiber – through the μέσος πόλις.²⁵⁴ Arguably, this route would be by the *clivus Capitolinus*, then by the *vicus Iugarius*. The Forum Romanum is thus considered a part of the *media urbis*/μέσος πόλις, even if this toponym is relatively imprecise and flexible. Importantly, such designations account for not only the area of the forum itself but also the streets that lead into it.

Cassius Dio's anecdote of the wolf rushing into the forum from the *Sacra via* may be out of the ordinary, but the nature of movement between the forum and the city was not. As noted, the centrality of the Forum Romanum was determined by its position in the valley between the hills. It is in this sense that we find movement to the forum characterised by the verb *descendere*. It has been noted that this verb, when used without further specification, usually refers to the act of moving westward to the forum from the *Sacra via* – the street “that

medio foro remains unclear and it is not the intention of this thesis to offer a detailed examination of the term. Those references that imply a rather vague designation include: Ov. *Ex Pon.* 1.7.30; Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.74; Prop 3.9.24; Plin. *HN.* 15.20; Livy 7.5; Tib. 1.2.96. Val. Max. 5.6.1 instead uses *in media parte fori*. Cicero may be read as implying a specific area that could be transversed when he talks of movement *per medium forum* (*Dom.* 49.2.5), likewise Martial's (6.77) reference to walking around this space: *quam nudus in medio si spatium foro*. Again, like *in media urbis*, *in medio foro* is a relational rather than an absolute topographical signifier and as such its designation would have varied over time. Mapping these developments would be a fruitful exercise but one that is tangential to the aims of this thesis.

²⁵³ Livy 1.33, *media urbis foro imminens*.

²⁵⁴ Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 3.3.

leads to the forum” (fig. 14).²⁵⁵ We can review this usage here. Although it is not exclusive, it demonstrates a dominant perception of movement to the forum, and thus of the forum as a destination.

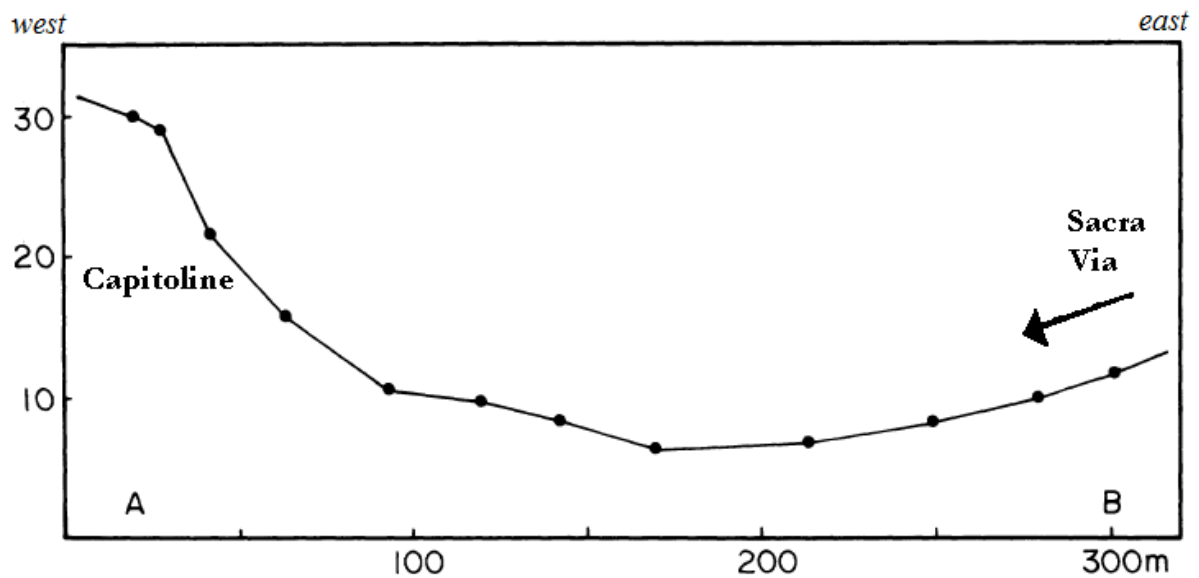


Figure 14 The relief of the Forum Romanum basin (Point A: *Tabularium*, Point B: *Sepulcretum*, immediately east of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*) (adapted from Ammerman 1990: fig. 3).

Cicero uses the term several times to describe the activities of both himself and others. He talks proudly of descending to the forum amid a throng of friends, and the participation of the Republican elite male in this social ritual, moving through space with attendants, was all the more significant because of the destination.²⁵⁶ That this movement through space was a conspicuous political act can be seen in the use of the term to invoke a lack of standing; for example, Catullus’ criticism of Naso that no man would descend with him on his journey to

²⁵⁵ Wiseman 2004: 17; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.35.2, Μούκιοι λειμῶνες καλοῦνται. ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι Κλοιλίᾳ δὲ τῇ παρθένῳ στάσιν εἰκόνοσ χαλκῆς ἔδοσαν, ἣν ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φερούσης οἱ τῶν παρθένων πατέρες. See also Gal. *Met. Men.* 15, the street that ‘led from the Temple of Rome to the main Forum’.

²⁵⁶ Cic. *Att.* 1.18.1, cum ad forum stipati gregibus amicorum descendimus. Those not attending the forum were said to ‘not be descending’, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2.15, Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat natalicium in hortis.

the forum.²⁵⁷ The vagaries of social interaction within the forum, with an impractical desire to keep one's distance from those of a lesser social standing, are well known.²⁵⁸ Here such discretion is applied to the journey as well. The public nature of moving through the *Sacra via* to the forum naturally made it a choice location for political confrontation, and Cicero recommended that such movement be accompanied by bodyguards.²⁵⁹ Indeed, one of the most famous anecdotes concerning the *Sacra via* involves Cicero being attacked by Clodius' followers, as the former was making his way to the forum – *cum Sacra via descenderem*.²⁶⁰ Other familiar tropes from the *Sacra via* include forced movement down to the forum as an act of subjugation, while movement up from the forum can be considered an act of unwelcome ascension. The former is of course connected with the triumph, for which *descendere* again formed a key description of the act of suppression.²⁶¹ We also recognise it in moments of crisis during which the structures of authority are contested. Vitellius, for example, was led down from the Palatine along the *Sacra via* to the forum, where he was killed at the *scalae Gemoniae*.²⁶² This is in stark contrast to his earlier attempt to abdicate power in the forum. Tacitus informs us that, having deposited the royal insignia at the *aedes Concordiae* (a *locus celeberrimus*), Vitellius was not allowed to return to his private *domus*. Instead, the crowd blocked all exits from the forum and forced him to return to the Palatine by

²⁵⁷ Catull. 112, neque tectum multos homo <est> qui descendit.

²⁵⁸ Plaut. *Circ.* 562, nec vobiscum quisquam in foro frugi consistere audit. The significance of *consistere* is discussed later in this chapter.

²⁵⁹ Cic. *Phil.* 8.16, consul se cum praesidio descensurum esse dixit.

²⁶⁰ Cic. *Att.* 4.3.3, itaque ante diem tertium Idus Novembris, cum Sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. clamor, lapides, fustes, gladii, haec improvisa omnia.

²⁶¹ Hor. *Ep.* 7.7-8, intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet; Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.33-6, Concines maiore poeta plectro Caesarem, quandoque trahet ferocis per sacrum clivom merita decorus fronde Sygambros. See also Prop. 2.1.34, who prefers the verb *currere* – to hasten: actiaque in Sacra currere rostra via.

²⁶² Cass. Dio 64.20.1-3; Suet. *Vit.* 17.1, in forum tractus est inter magna rerum verborumque ludibria per totum urbe viae sacrae spatium. On executions at the *Scalae Gemoniae* see Barry 2008.

the *Sacra via*.²⁶³ Being coaxed into moving up this street was just as significant as being forced to move down it. Importantly, this passage relies on the blocking of alternative paths (*interclusum aliud iter*). We will return to the blocking of streets around the forum later in this chapter.

There are exceptions to the theme of westbound movement, of which Vitellius is one. Martial, for example, twice refers to going up the *Sacra via* toward the Palatine, but nowhere does he describe the route in the opposite direction.²⁶⁴ These can be read as part of understanding the Forum Romanum in wider patterns of cross-city movement, as traffic heading up the *Sacra via* first must have passed through the forum itself but, such is the nature of the place, very likely did not originate from there. It is movement that has passed through the forum, as a shortcut.

What concern us here are the informative generalisations that we might make from these specific anecdotes and occurrences. Westbound movement on the *Sacra via* is normally considered as movement *to* the Forum (fig. 15). However, there is a key exception to this – one which does not use *descendere* – which further helps to contextualise the Forum Romanum within wider patterns of city movement. It is in this context that we can move from considering movement *to* the forum, and consider movement *through* it.

²⁶³ Tac. *Hist.* 3.68, ut in aede Concordiae positurus insignia imperii domumque fratris petiturus discessit. maior hic clamor obsistentium penetibus privatis, in Palatium vocantium. interclusum aliud iter, idque solum quo in sacram viam pergeret patebat: tum consilii inops in Palatium redit.

²⁶⁴ Mart. 1.70, inde sacro ueneranda petes Palatia cliuo, plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis; 4.78.7, et sacro decies repetis Palatia cliuo.



Figure 15 View looking east up the *Sacra via* from beyond the *Regia*. The pedestrian in the middle distance is ‘descending’ to the Forum Romanum. (Photo = author).

3.2 THE FORUM ROMANUM AS SHORTCUT

The text in question is Horace's description of the way in which he was pestered by a well meaning but exasperatingly loquacious hanger-on as he walked in public; proof against Macrobius' quip that the merry talk of a companion is worth as much as a lift.²⁶⁵ The scene begins in the *Sacra via* and takes us as far as the eastern end of the Forum Romanum. The text is rich in information on the interpersonal politics of the Roman street, as Horace tries all manner of ways to discard his companion: speeding up, slowing down, and inventing routes. Given the aims of this chapter, we can focus on those issues that relate to movement and the Forum Romanum in particular. Two things are significant for understanding the movement through the forum: the route Horace was taking, and the believability of the route he invents.

The text begins with Horace stating that he was walking along the *Sacra via*, and that this was habitual.²⁶⁶ Eventually, he reaches the *aedes Vestae*, having moved west towards the forum. Importantly, until he invents a destination, we might assume that he has arrived there without design. His movement westbound on the *Sacra via* has no destination in mind. The specific *descendere* is thus replaced by the universal *ibam*. Horace is like the wandering *flâneur*, thinking as he walks.²⁶⁷ Considering this movement in the terms outlined in the preceding chapter, we can infer that his route was determined by the natural movement patterns of the city rather than a chosen route from A to B; the fact that routes lead to and cross the forum makes it likely that 'random' movement will nevertheless be attracted to there.

Just as significant is Horace's invented destination. In an attempt to leave his unwanted companion behind, he states that he is going to visit someone the companion does

²⁶⁵ Hor. *Sat.* 1.9; Macrobius *Sat.* 2.7.11, Comes facundus in via pro vehiculo est. See Castagnoli 1988; Mazurek 1997.

²⁶⁶ Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.1, Ibam forte via sacra, sicut meus est mos.

²⁶⁷ Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.2, nescio quid meditans nugarum.

not know. This is not enough to deter him and so Horace adds the detail that it is far away, across the Tiber near the gardens of Caesar.²⁶⁸ Horace's route is therefore one for which the Forum Romanum must form a believable route. As this detail is given before they arrive at the *aedes Vestae*, we might imagine them forking left at the *Regia*, and taking the short street that leads to the temple. There Horace was relieved of his unwanted companion. Had he not been, a believable route would have rounded the *aedes Castoris* and continued along the *vicus Tuscus*.

From there, a plausible route may have taken Horace to the *pons Sublicius* and across to *Transtiberim*.²⁶⁹ We do not learn this route, of course, because Horace was never intending to go there. Interestingly, as he departs, the hanger-on indicates that he will wait for Horace's patron and his real target, Maecenas, in another space where movement is rife and which, because it subsumed many routes, was likely to capture him because of natural movement through the city – in the *locus celeberrimus* of the public crossroads.²⁷⁰ Still, the key point for this chapter is that the Forum Romanum was considered a logical route for this movement across the city. Its through movement potential meant that moving to and through the forum to reach a site in the far distance was perfectly credible.

Horace's text begins by noting that he was on the *Sacra via* 'by chance' (*forte*), but that it was customary for him to be so (*sicut meus est mos*). These two statements indicate that meeting the impertinent hanger-on at that particular time on the *Sacra via* was (un-)fortuitous but that moving along the *Sacra via* itself was common. Plutarch gives a similar impression, describing the movement of Tiberius Gracchus as he was struck by a falling roof tile as he made his way down to the forum. This is all the more significant because the tile struck

²⁶⁸ Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.17-8, *quendam volo visere non tibi notum; trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos*.

²⁶⁹ On this area as depicted on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, see the astute observations in Tucci 2004.

²⁷⁰ Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.57-9, *non, hodie si exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram, occurram in triviis, deducam..*

Tiberius Gracchus rather than one of the “many people passing by”. This level of traffic was, Plutarch adds, natural for this street.²⁷¹

Still, while this volume of movement is to be expected, the verb *forte* opens another important description of the through movement potential of the Forum Romanum. Ovid describes his return from Vesta’s feast as follows: “I was by chance returning (home) from Vesta’s feast by the way which now joins the Nova Via to the Forum Romanum”.²⁷² We can suspect from other texts that Ovid’s house was located somewhere in the region of the Capitoline, to the north.²⁷³ We might infer that the route would see Ovid cross from the *aedes Castoris* to the *clivus Argentarius* at the northwest of the Forum Romanum.²⁷⁴ Again, the ‘through movement potential’ of the forum is a key determinant of the activities that occurred there, in this case, Ovid’s route home. In this instance, the change to the physical space with the addition of a new route that actually joins the forum (*iuncta foro*), has only served to increase this potential.²⁷⁵

Through movement potential is also implied in the route Martial described for his book as it made for the Palatine in the mid-80s A.D.²⁷⁶ The origin of the route is unclear, but

²⁷¹ Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 17.3-4, μικρὸν δ’ αὐτοῦ προελθόντος, ὥφθησαν ὑπὲρ κεράμου μαχόμενοι κόρακες ἐν ἀριστερᾷ· καὶ πολλῶν ὡς εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπων παρερχομένων, κατ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Τιβέριον λίθος ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν κοράκων ἔπεσε παρὰ τὸν πόδα. τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς θραυστάτους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπέστησεν.

²⁷² Ov. *F.* 6.395-6, Forte revertibar festis Vestalibus illa quae Nova Romano nunc Via iuncta foro est. On this passage and its relationship to the topography of the area on the northwest of the Palatine see Hurst 2003; 2006 and Wiseman 2004; 2007a.

²⁷³ Ov. *Trist.* 1.3.29-30, hanc ego suspiciens et ad hanc Capitolia cernens, quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari.

²⁷⁴ But see Knox 2009 who warns against reading too closely. Knox instead argues the Ovid was ascending to the Palatine, not heading to cross the Forum Romanum.

²⁷⁵ Ovid’s use of *nunc* implies that it was relatively new at the time of writing, the first decade A.D.

²⁷⁶ Mart. *Ep.* 1.70. On Martial and the cityscape of Rome, see Prior 1996; Rodríguez-Almeida 2003.

may be from Martial's house on the Quirinal, or from a bookshop in the *Argiletum*.²⁷⁷ He signposts the *aedes Castoris* and the *aedes* and *atrium Vestae* as he directs his work from the forum to the Palatine by way of the *Sacra via*. Coarelli had Martial's route turn north, along the street commonly called the *clivus ad Carinas* (see below), but this has been sensibly refuted, namely because a route from the Quirinal to the Velia would not pass through the Forum Romanum but would pass through the *Subura*.²⁷⁸ In this sense, literary description, natural movement and through movement potential combine.

Those sources that describe movement through the Forum Romanum as a particular perception of space are numerous and chronologically varied, but we can highlight the concentration of such perception in the first century B.C. and A.D. Late in the second decade A.D., the visiting Strabo described the city of Rome in terms of the spatial arrangement of structures within it; a scheme that implies movement from one monument to the next, starting in the northern *Campus Martius* and progressing towards the centre of the *Urbs*.²⁷⁹ Strabo's route would thus pass through the *porta Fontinalis* (a *locus celeberrimus*) and around the *Arx* by way of the *clivus Argentarius*, emerging in the northwest corner of the forum (the site of two *loci celeberrimi*). Such a route, the product of the configuration of space and the natural movement of the city, bypasses the new imperial fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus on the left of the road: "one forum after another, ranged along the old one". They are defined

²⁷⁷ On the location of Martial's home on the Quirinal, see 5.22.3-4 and 10.58.10. That the book originated in the *Argiletum* is favoured by Geyssen 1999: 723, noting the lack of reference to the imperial fora, of which the fora of Caesar and Augustus existed in the 70s A.D. This explains the lack of detail between the Quirinal and the *aedes Castoris*, where the description begins. On Martial's books for sale in the *Argiletum* see 1.3; 1.117 and perhaps 1.2.7-8.

²⁷⁸ Coarelli 1983: 40-1, criticised by Ziółkowski 1989: 229-31 and Geyssen 1999: 727, n.20.

²⁷⁹ Strabo 5.3.8, *πάλιν δ' εἴ τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης ἴδοι παραβεβλημένην ταύτῃ καὶ βασιλικὰς στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς, ἴδοι δὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς Λιβίας περιπάτῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκλάθοιτ' ἂν τῶν ἔξωθεν*. See Haselberger 2007 on the distinction between Republican *Urbs* and Augustan *Campus*. On Strabo's relationship with Augustan Rome, see Dueck 2000: esp. 85-94.

according to both their spatial and temporal relationship with the Forum Romanum, now considered the ‘old’ one (ἀρχαίαν), but the route passes by them rather than through them.²⁸⁰ As in other such texts from the first century A.D., the Forum Romanum is a prominent place within routes through the city.²⁸¹ The imperial fora are tangential. We will consider this in more detail in the following chapter.

That our sources perceived the Forum Romanum in a similar way – as a shortcut on longer routes – reflects a broader cultural perception of space, based on praxis common to both authors and readers in the first century A.D.²⁸² Later in the century, Martial’s route to the Palatine depicted the Forum Romanum in a similar manner but, importantly, it was written a decade before the *Argiletum* was transformed by the construction of the *Forum Nervae*. This would remove one of the principal approaches to the forum area, and thus diminish its through movement potential, at least from that direction.

Acting as a shortcut or being a necessary part of a wider route are key characteristics of centrality as defined by natural movement. Importantly, we see a relatively consistent representation of the space of the Forum Romanum between the first century B.C. and the early-first century A.D. The following section provides further context for this discussion by examining the physical configuration of space around the forum. It discusses the areas that were nearby, how they were connected to the forum, and the changes that were made to the space of the forum and its adjacent streets over time. While it continued to serve as an important node and shortcut, we can notice increasing control and segregation over the late-first century B.C, which would eventually dictate the development of the imperial fora to the northeast.

²⁸⁰ One might say something similar of the description in Ov. *Trist.* 3.1 (see Huskey 2006).

²⁸¹ In terms of movement through the city the next point on Strabo’s itinerary, the *porticus Liviae*, demands a continuation.

²⁸² Phaedrus knew Horace (Champlin 2005: 109, 117-20); Martial was aware of Phaedrus’ λόγους (Mart. 3.20).

3.3 THE CONNECTIVITY OF THE FORUM ROMANUM

The through movement potential of the Forum Romanum was based on the number of streets that connected with it. The large number of routes, which approached from all directions, made the forum an important node in the urban landscape. But a large number of neighbouring streets is not an objective measure of patterns of movement. As the through movement potential of a given space is dependent upon the busyness of those spaces with which it connects, we cannot understand movement in the Forum Romanum unless we understand movement in the areas that surrounded it. Beginning at the northwest corner, by the *Comitium*, and proceeding clockwise, we can note eight principal entrances, although the number obviously makes assumptions about ‘principality’ difficult to justify: the *clivus Argentarius*; the *Argiletum*; the *Corneta*; the *Sacra via*; the *vicus Vestae*;²⁸³ the *vicus Tuscus*; the *vicus Iugarius*; the *clivus Capitolinus*. In addition, the *scalae Gemoniae/gradus Monetae* led to and from the forum on the east side of the Capitoline, near the *Carcer*, while the *scalae “ex-Graecae”* led to and from the Palatine, near the *aedes Castoris*. Another stepped route led between the area of the *aedes Veiovis* on the Capitoline to the lower parts of the *clivus Capitolinus*, behind, and thus blocked by, the *aedes Divi Vespasiani et Divi Titi*.²⁸⁴ Figure 16 indicates the street network around and into the Forum Romanum.

²⁸³ Used throughout this thesis to refer to the street that branched south at the *Regia* and continued past the *aedes Vestae* to the *Arcus Augusti*. This had formerly been considered the *Sacra via*, but I follow Coarelli in locating that to the north of *Regia*. The *vicus Vestae* was probably too narrow to accommodate the traffic associated with the *Sacra via* in textual sources, particularly triumphs. The name of the *vicus* is known from *CIL* VI 30960, in *Regio VIII*.

²⁸⁴ See Purcell 1993: 135-7 on this “through route”. Purcell connects this with the *atrium Libertatis*, which was at an elevated position beyond the Forum Romanum (Livy 45.15.1-5). On the alternative position of this monument and elevated position on the *clivus Argentarius*, see Chapter 4.

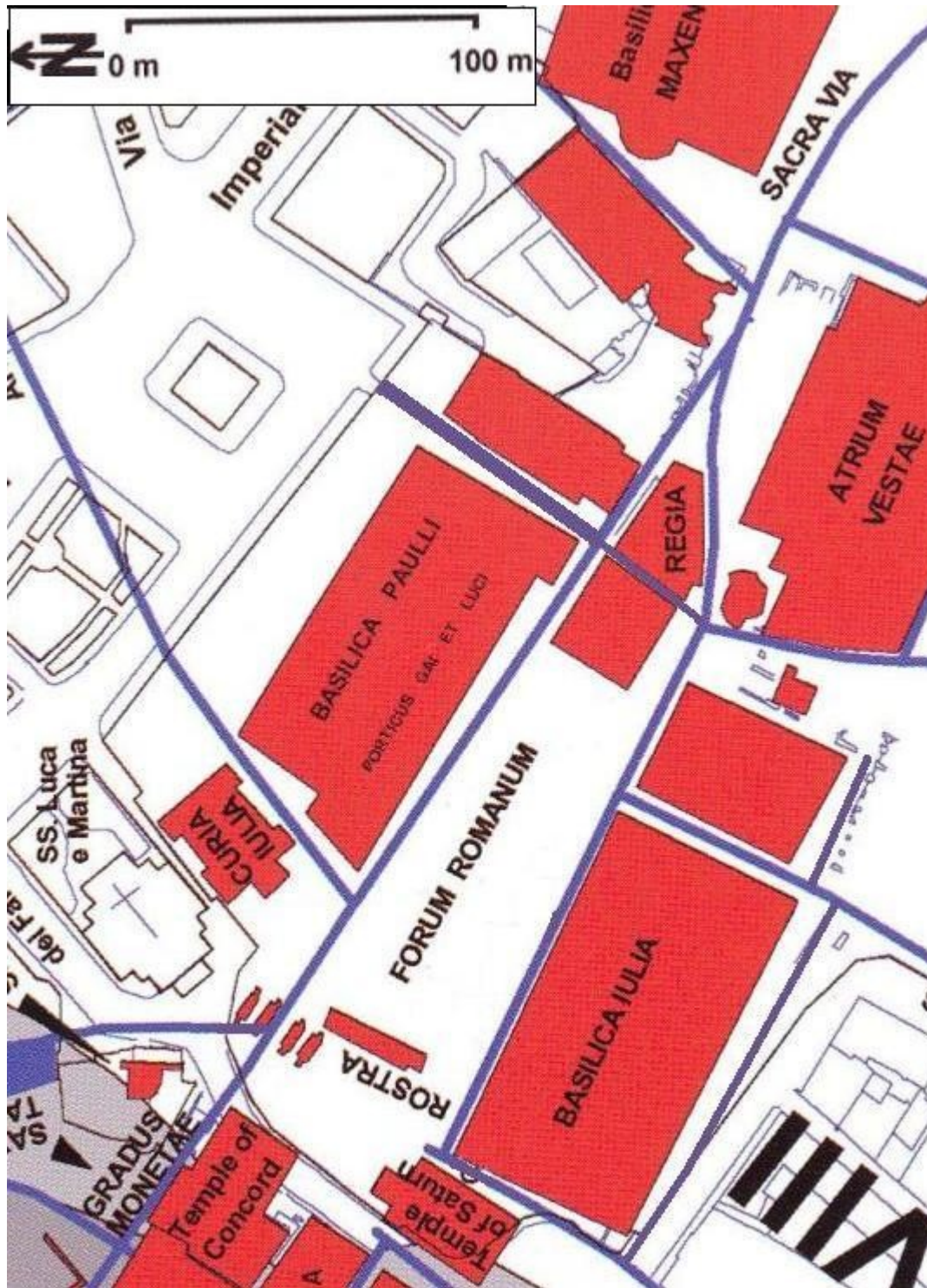


Figure 16 Plan of the streets around the Forum Romanum. This map does not provide details of the blocked or arched streets, and is used only to orient the reader (adapted from Häuber & Schütz 2006: fig. 1).

Of the streets listed above, two were partially truncated and redirected by later constructions, two were apparently blocked altogether, three (or possibly four) had arches erected over them, while only one seems to have been the same in the second century A.D. as it was in the third

century B.C. This section details those changes, the better to understand how one arrived at the Forum Romanum. We can divide the discussion into the spaces without and the spaces of transition. Following this, we can then consider the restrictions on movement within the forum itself.

3.3.1 The Spaces Without

The aim of this section is to give wider context to the natural movement and through movement potential of the Forum Romanum within the city of Rome. To understand movement through the forum it is important to look beyond it; to consider how those streets that led to the forum were used and to what extent we can infer movement along them (fig. 17). This section demonstrates that the importance of the Forum Romanum as an urban node was dependent upon its connection to other important nodes in the wider urban landscape.

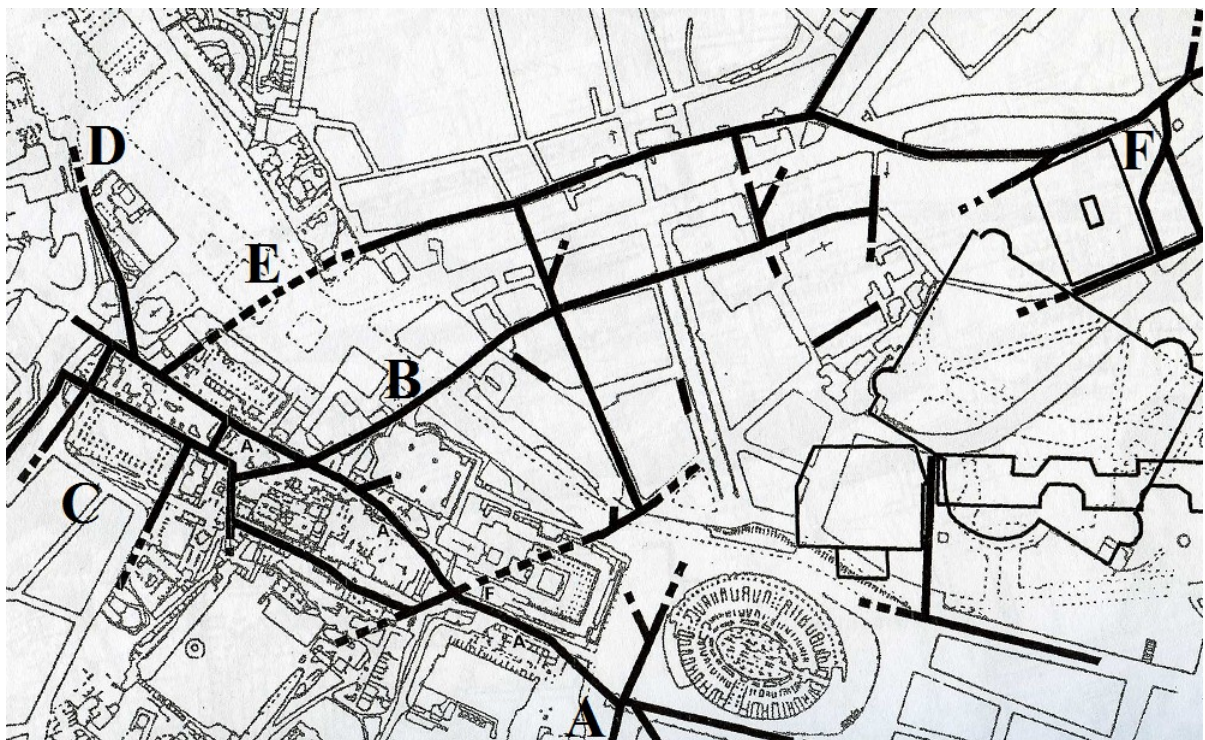


Figure 17 The Forum Romanum in context. A: the *compitum* and regionary junction near the *Meta Sudans*; B: the *clivus ad Carinas*; C: the *Velabrum*, *vicus Tuscus* and *vicus Iugarius*; D: the *clivus Argentarius*; E: the *Argiletum*; F: the approach from the Esquiline (adapted from Palombi 1997a: fig. 28).

3.3.1.1 The *clivus ad Carinas*

In addition to those streets listed above, we can note on figure 16 a street heading north from the *Sacra via*, beside the later *Basilica Maxentii*. This is the so-called *clivus ad Carinas*.²⁸⁵ We can begin our survey here, since it was considered an important connection to the forum despite, as the map makes clear, not entering the forum itself. The course of the street is preserved in the modern Via del Tempio della Pace, and joined the *Sacra via* immediately east of the so-called Temple of Romulus.²⁸⁶ A monumental arch may have marked the junction, at which point the street was ca. 7.4–7.5m wide.²⁸⁷ Northbound, this street would rise at a gentle gradient to the area of the Esquiline discussed above.²⁸⁸ We can relate the *Carinae* (a *locus celeberrimus*) to the concept of moving through the *media urbis*, and the area of the forum as discussed above.²⁸⁹ A section of late antique basalt paving, above Flavian layers, was exposed in 2007 (fig. 18).²⁹⁰

The street is visible on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (15ab, see fig. 19), immediately beside the *Templum Pacis*.²⁹¹ This confirms the continuation of the street following the

²⁸⁵ The name is modern, simply reflecting that it was “the street that ran to the Carinae”, although this designation in antiquity is from Greek, not Latin, as in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68 and 8.69: τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ὁδόν. See Palombi 1997a: 49-51.

²⁸⁶ On the topography of this area, see Rebert 1925; Ziolkowski 1996.

²⁸⁷ Van Deman 1923: 414-5. Four travertine bases might be the foundations of an arch, although this is not included on her plan of the area.

²⁸⁸ The gradient is important for arguing against this street being the *Sacra via*, for movement on which, as we have seen, *descendere* was an important verb. See Richardson 1992: 289 and below.

²⁸⁹ Livy 26.10.1, *media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit*. Florus 2.18.4 described the Carinae as a *locus celeberrimus*. Virg. *Aen.* 8.361 groups the Forum Romanum and Carinae together.

²⁹⁰ See Palombi 2005a on the broader changes to the Velia. The 2007 excavation is reviewed at: http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/sar2000/metroc/colosseo_approfondimenti_S10.htm.

²⁹¹ See Fogagnolo 2006 for the congruence of archaeology and the depiction on the *Forma Urbis Romae*.

creation of the *Templum Pacis*, although it was evidently narrowed by the construction of *tabernae* against the exterior of the rear wall of the central room in the new complex.²⁹²



Figure 18 Section of the basalt paving of the *clivus ad Carinas* excavated on via del Tempio della Pace in 2007. (Photo = Martin G. Conde).

In the early-fourth century A.D., the *Basilica Maxentii* abutted the eastern wall of the *Templum Pacis*, and thus truncated the existing street.²⁹³ However, even then the route was

²⁹² See Piranomonte & Capodiferro 1988. The fire of Rome in A.D. 192 destroyed many structures in this immediate area and prompted rebuilding. Tucci 2008: 135-6 discusses the topography of the fire. These *tabernae* do not in any way prove Anderson's reconstruction of similar *tabernae* on the western perimeter, facing the *Argiletum*, as he suggests; 1984: 108 (see below).

not severed: a 15m passage continued under the northwest corner of the building and connected the two existing tracts to the north and south.²⁹⁴ It is clear that a neighbouring street ran eastwards towards the *compitum Acilii*. This was also suppressed by the new basilica (fig. 19).²⁹⁵

The *clivus ad Carinas* is interesting in this discussion because of two references by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In his review of Coarelli's work on the *Sacra via*, Ziolkowski questioned the reliability of Greek sources for understanding the minutiae of the topography of the city of Rome: since they were writing for Greeks ignorant of the city's topography, they had no need to be as reliable as their Latin counterparts.²⁹⁶ Dismissive as this is, Dionysius may have been thinking of a similar prejudice when he commented on this street; introducing his brief excursus by noting that he himself had seen and so knew the street.²⁹⁷ At one point he describes this as the street that leads to the *Carinae*.²⁹⁸ In another instance he adds further details: the *Sacellum Streniae* was not far from the forum, on the *short* street (ἐπίτομον ὁδόν) that led to the *Carinae*.²⁹⁹

²⁹³ For a useful summary see Amici 2005, esp. figs. 2.6, 2.12-13.

²⁹⁴ Nash 1968, I: 181. This was narrower than the street (at 4m) and later gained an unsavoury reputation - the *Arco di Latrone*. However, its importance as an urban thoroughfare appears to be confirmed by its use in *celeberrima processiones* until the Middle Ages.

²⁹⁵ La Rocca 2006: 125 and fig. 4.

²⁹⁶ Ziolkowski 2004: 31.

²⁹⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.1, Ἄ δὲ αὐτός τε ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι καὶ δέος οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει με περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν τοιάδε ἐστί· νεὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δαίκνυται τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσιν ἐπίτομον ὁδὸν ὑπεροχῇ σκοτεινὸς ἰδρυμένος οὐ μέγας.

²⁹⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.79.3, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κασσίου ἢ τ' οἰκία κατεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀνεῖται ὁ τόπος αὐτῆς αἰθριος ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Γῆς, ὃν ὑστέροις ἡ πόλις κατεσκεύασε χρόνοις ἐν μέρει τινὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσιν ὁδόν.

²⁹⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.1.

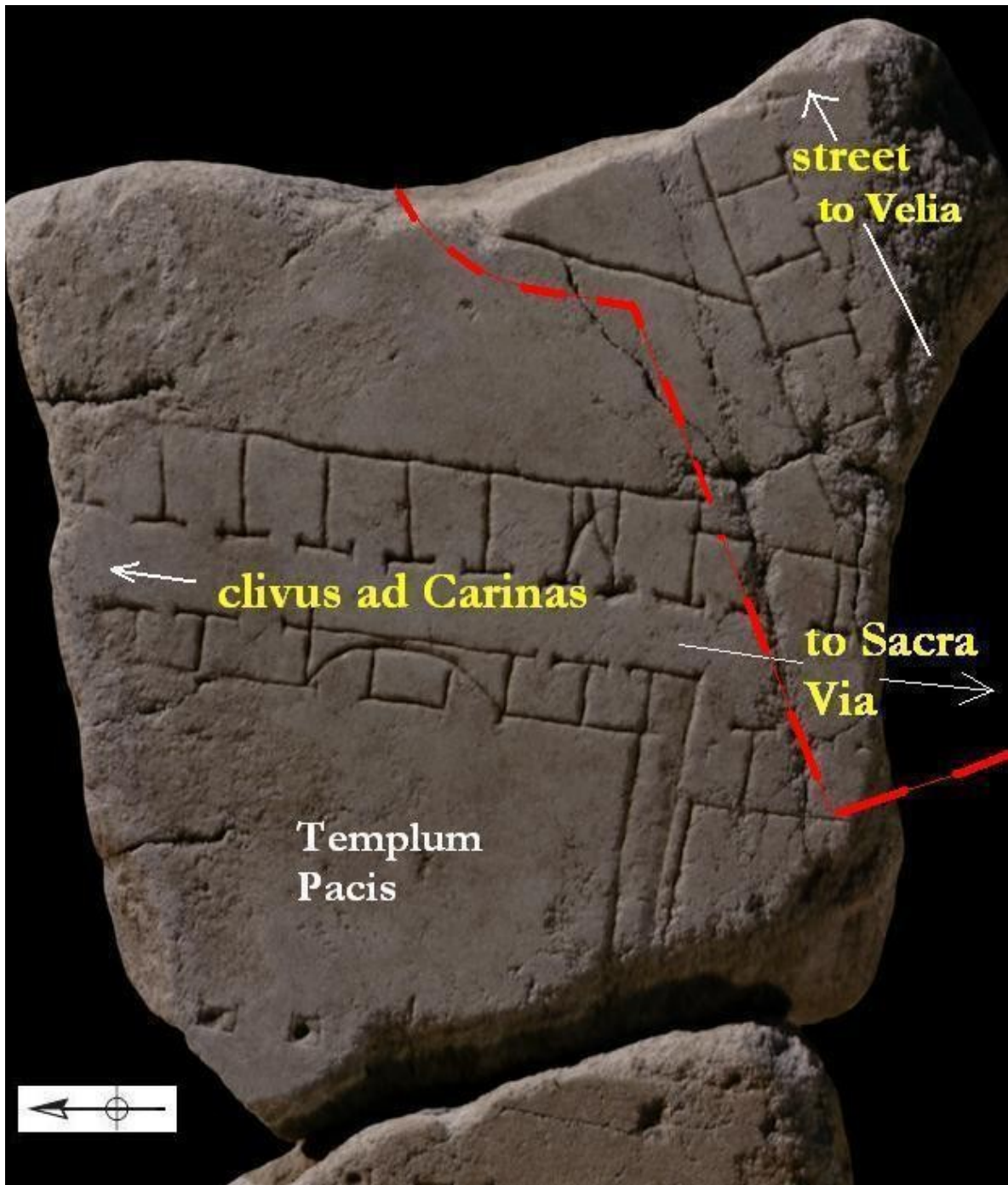


Figure 19 *Forma Urbis Romae* 15ab showing the *clivus ad Carinas*.

There are two related topographical details for understanding movement around this area: first, proximity to the Forum Romanum; second, the street is short. That this street is not to be confused with the *Sacra via* is clear in that it ran *sub Velia*, and would therefore be inconsistent with the moniker *summa Sacra via*. The Velia was evidently higher than this

street; Dionysius comments how houses from there commanded a view of the forum.³⁰⁰ The *aedes Penates Dei* was on the Velia, where formerly had been the house of Tullus Hostilius.³⁰¹ That was reached by steps, the *scalae deum Penatium*, which may have come from the lower street of the *clivus ad Carinas*.³⁰²

The significance of this street has been rather overlooked. It provided an alternative approach to the forum from the north, a role which is commonly ascribed to the *Argiletum*. Even if it joined the *Sacra via* rather than entered into the piazza, it was considered by contemporaries to be a route to and from the forum. We can also consider its position with respect to the nearby street that led to and from the *compitum Acilii*. Livy states that Q. Fulvius Flaccus' army entered Rome in 211 B.C. from the *porta Capena*, and moved quickly (*contendit*) to the Esquiline by way of the *Carinae*.³⁰³ The speed of this movement would demand direct routes. We can imagine this skirting the southeast of the Palatine, to the *compitum Acilii*. From there, the *vicus Cuprius* ascended to intersect with the *clivus Orbis* – the street to the Esquiline.³⁰⁴ It was by these streets that Tullia, in a *carpentum*, returned from the forum and infamously rode over the body of her father.³⁰⁵ Livy presents the most detail, including a right turn at the *summus vicus Cuprius*, to lead to the Esquiline. The route is a

³⁰⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.19.1, ἔπειθ' ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἐπιφθόνῳ τόπῳ κατεσκευάσατο λόφον ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑψηλὸν ἐπικεκῶς καὶ περίτομον, ὃν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐελίαν, ἐκλεξάμενος. See also Livy 2.7, in summa Velia.

³⁰¹ Var., *ad. Non.* 531, Tullum Hostilium in Veliis, ubi nunc est aedis deum Penatium; Solinus 1.22, in Velia.

³⁰² From Varro, cited in Donat. *ad Ter. Eun.* 256. See Palombi 1997b; Castagnoli 1982.

³⁰³ Livy 26.10. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus, media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit.

³⁰⁴ Livy 1.48.7; Var. *LL.* 5.159, 'Viculus Cyprius [...] prope hunc Viculus Sceleratus'. Ovid *F.* 6.604 implies that this intersection was *sub Esquilis*. Terrenato 1992: 39 has the road originating at the *Meta Sudans*, discussed below.

³⁰⁵ Livy 1.48. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clium ut in collem Esquiliarum eueheretur. Ovid *F.* 6.604 accords with Livy in calling these streets *medias vias*.

curious one, since by all accounts the *clivus ad Carinas* would be the quickest route from the forum to the intersection of the *vicus Cuprius* and *clivus Orbuius*. Terrenato redraws the route of the *vicus Cuprius*, in a way that might make Tullia's route from the forum to the Esquiline more direct.³⁰⁶ Despite any such topographical vagaries in the Velia and *Carinae* more broadly, the nature of the *clivus ad Carinas* as an important shortcut is clear. Ovid implies that this intersection was before the ascent to the hill, which accords well with the name of the street *beyond* that point – *clivus* – which more accurately reflects its topographical ascent³⁰⁷

Given that the route of the *clivus ad Carinas* led to this intersection as well, opposite the *clivus Orbuius*, allows us to infer that it was not itself on a steep gradient, for the intersection was at the foot of the hill. We have already noted that the name *clivus ad Carinas* is for modern convenience, and we have no such reference in Latin texts. However in Dionysius – the passage from which the designation *ad Carinas* is inspired – ὁδός is more accurately translated as ‘street’, rather than ‘hill’.³⁰⁸ Dionysius does not refer to gradient (for example, ἐπάνοδοις). The only adjective he provides is that the street is short (ἐπίτομον).³⁰⁹ Therefore, Piranomonte and Capodiferro may have been more accurate when they referred to it as the *vicus ad Carinas*.³¹⁰ Van Deman's archaeological surveys south of the *Basilica Maxentii*, which indicated a gradient of only 1 metre in 30, suggest that the ascent began further north; logically enough, this is where Ovid placed the foot of the Esquiline, where the

³⁰⁶ Terrenato 1992: 41-2 and 33, fig. 2.

³⁰⁷ Ov. *F.* 6.601, ipse sub Esquiliis.

³⁰⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68, τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσιν ὁδόν.

³⁰⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.79.3 (above). Compare this to 3.22.8 when he mentions what we can only assume is a different street, including an implication of gradient, that comes down from the Carinae: ἐν ᾧ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χωρίῳ τὸν ἀγνισμὸν ἐποίησαντο πάντες Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσιν ἱερὸν· ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῷ φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύπριον ἐρχομένοις στενωπὸν. Terrenato 1992: 39-41 discusses the complexity of streets in this area. This complexity does not, however, obscure the importance of the route here known as the *clivus ad Carinas*.

³¹⁰ Piranomonte & Capodiferro 1988.

clivus Orbis began, and this may account for why Dionysius did not indicate gradient in his description of the street nearer the forum.³¹¹

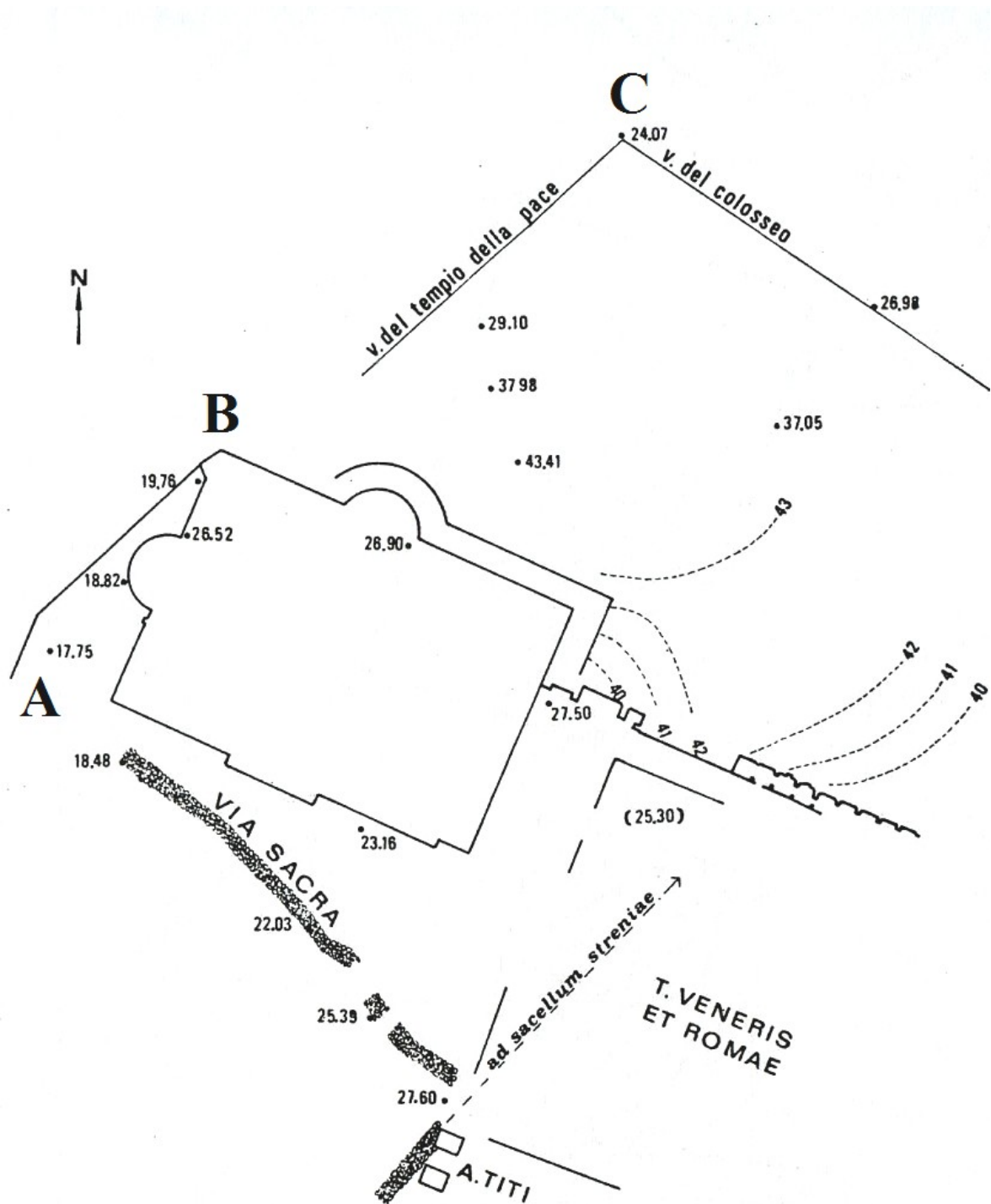


Figure 20 Plan showing the gradient of the *clivus ad Carinas*. A: junction with the *Sacra via* (17.75 masl); B: junction with the wall of the *Templum Pacis* (19.76 masl); C: starting point for the designation *clivus Orbis* (24.07 masl) (adapted from Palombi 1997a: fig.7).

³¹¹ Van Deman 1923: 414 for the measurement of gradient.

Figure 20 illustrates the different gradients of the *clivus ad Carinas* and the traditional course of the *Sacra via*, towards the Arch of Titus. Not only can we see that the gradient is shallower over a comparable distance, but also that the *clivus ad Carinas* (marked approximately by “v. del tempio della pace”) passes besides and beneath the high ground of the Velia, which rises to almost double the height. In terms of economies of effort, the street would therefore have presented the most user-friendly approach towards the Forum Romanum, avoiding arduous climbs and descents.

Recently, Palombi has suggested that the topography described in Terence’s *Adelphoe* is that of central Rome, in accordance with the presentation of the play at the funeral of M. Aemilius Lepidus in 160 B.C., and the tailoring of specific details to fit the local context of the performance.³¹² The routes described start at the *Macellum*, near the later *Basilica Aemilia*. Having failed to mislead Demea, Syrus provides a description of a shorter and more straightforward route.³¹³ Palombi is right to note that we cannot expect to accurately reconstruct the maze of *platea*, *angiporta*, *vici*, and *clivi* in Terence’s routes, but we might say that, if in the vicinity of the forum, the house of the millionaire Cratinus might correspond with the aristocratic houses on the *Sacra via*, and the *clivus ad Carinas* the street on the left.³¹⁴ If this were the case, underscoring what we have said above, Terence refers to this as a *platea*, rather than *clivus* as used to describe an earlier street in the text.

Again, its proximity to the Forum Romanum and the apparent advantages afforded by the street that connected the two – being relatively low-lying and being deemed to shortcut

³¹² Palombi 2005b: 25-8; 25 suggests that this was performed *in foro*. The parallel between Terence’s description and Rome has been suggested before, by Frank 1936, although he thought the scenes referred to the northwest of the Capitoline and lower Campus Martius. Van Tilburg 2007: 49-50 maintains that the comedy is set in Athens, or “a Greek setting”. See also Gilula 1991. Palombi reconstructs the text to lead to the *porta Fontinalis*; Gilula to the *porta Trigemina*. The latter would not correspond with movement in the direction of the Velia.

³¹³ Ter. *Ad.* 579, *sane hac multo propius ibis et minor est erratio*.

³¹⁴ Palombi 2005b: 27.

around the Velia – will surely have influenced the use of this street for considerable volumes of movement. The common perception of a close relationship between the two places is demonstrated by the use of the personal response to the distance between them to stand as an indicator of broader personal decline. So, Horace makes clear just how old is Philippus – a once energetic litigant – since he now complains that the *Carinae* is too far from the forum.³¹⁵ Of course, to a reasonable estimate, it was not.³¹⁶

The aim of this excursus has been to highlight the two characteristics of this street into the forum that would be beneficial in terms of attracting movement: that it was a shortcut and that it had minimal elevation change. The *clivus ad Carinas* would therefore have been an important north-south route into and from the area of the Forum Romanum because it presented a direct route with minimal economy of effort. The low level of the *clivus ad Carinas* will have contributed to its status as a favoured shortcut towards the forum; a key route from one *locus celeberrimus* to another. With the construction of the imperial fora and the removal of key routes from the north, the use of the *clivus ad Carinas* will have increased within this newly configured pattern of through movement (see below).

3.3.1.2 The *Sacra via* and the *Meta Sudans*

In 1982, Filippo Coarelli wrote the preface to the republication of Christian Hülsen's *Il Foro Romano*, stating that the understanding of the history and archaeology was for all intents and purposes the same as it had been in 1905.³¹⁷ The following year, Coarelli's first volume on the

³¹⁵ Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.48, *dum redit atque foro nimium distare Carinas*.

³¹⁶ Indeed, describing Octavian's residence on the *Carinae*, formerly belonging to his grandfather L. Philippus, Suetonius describes this as *iuxta Romanum forum* (*Aug.* 72.1). Virgil (*Aen.* 8.361) also groups the forum and the *Carinae* together as connected spaces. This is not topographically accurate, but the sense of proximity afforded by the routes between the two will have cultivated this perception.

³¹⁷ The date of Hülsen's original publication. see Hülsen 1982: Coarelli, "l'interpretazione storico-archeologica del Foro Romano oggi è sostanzialmente la stessa di quella dell'inizio del secolo".

subject rewrote many canonical interpretations. One of the most contentious elements of *la révolution Coarellienne* has been his alteration of the course of the *Sacra via*.³¹⁸

Coarelli's argument has been revised slightly in response to criticisms but, in summary, can be stated as follows. While the traditional course of the *Sacra via* had been from the Forum Romanum to the Arch of Titus, Coarelli changed its course to branch north under the later *Basilica Maxentii*, then following the course of the modern *clivo di Venere Felice* to the *compitum Acilii*.³¹⁹ The section between the *Regia* and the fork was the *Sacra via* as used in popular and official language, while the eastern part, from the 'Temple of Romulus' to the fork was the so-called *summa Sacra via*.³²⁰ The stretch of the street that ran to the Arch of Titus was identified as a separate street – tentatively identified as the *vicus huiusce diei* or the *clivus Sacer* of poetic sources.³²¹ This has the effect of relocating monuments that we are told were in the *summa Sacra via*.³²² Coarelli thus identified the 'Temple of Romulus', east of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*, as the *aedes Iuppiter Stator*.³²³ The whole topography of the area shifts westwards towards the Forum Romanum, and thus our understanding of the relationship between the forum and its surrounding spaces is also remapped. Important in this is not just the relocation of monuments, but the changes it implies for understanding movement in the city. Coarelli's route of the post-Neronian 'long' *Sacra via* has been criticised by Ziółkowski on the grounds that it defies the logic of natural movement, discussed above and in Chapter 2, namely,

³¹⁸ The term "la révolution Coarellienne" is taken from Gros 1986: 63. The reinterpretation of the *Sacra via* (1983: esp. 38-49, fig. 12) is developed from Coarelli 1981.

³¹⁹ Coarelli 1983: 47, fig. 12.

³²⁰ Coarelli 1983: 24-38.

³²¹ Coarelli 1983: 24, n.27 for *vicus huiusce diei* (known to be in *Regio X*, from *CIL VI* 975); 1985: 78 for the *clivus Sacer* (from Mart. 1.70.5; 4.78.7; Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.35).

³²² Aug. *RG.* 19, *aedem Larum in summa Sacra via*.

³²³ Coarelli 1981: 242; 1983: 26-33; 2008: 81-2. Plut. *Cic.* 16.3, προελθὼν δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στρησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων.

Coarelli's street provides the shortest route to the *Carinae*, but would have passed over the crest of the Velia.³²⁴ This seems improbable based on the criteria of economies of effort and distance minimisation, and as we have seen a 'shortcut' already existed around the lower northern slope of the hill – the *clivus ad Carinas*.

To tackle the details of Coarelli's revisions in depth would take this thesis on an interesting tangent, but one that is the most fiercely contested debate in Roman topography.³²⁵ This brief section does not have the ambition of settling the argument between the 'traditionalists' and the 'revisionists', but rather focuses on recent archaeological work at the northeast corner of the Palatine, the better to understand the importance of a major street junction near the 'traditional' termination of the pre-Neronian *Sacra via*. The importance of the east-west axis and the link to the Forum Romanum is underscored by Nero's interventions in the area, which also require some consideration for their impact on patterns of movement.

Excavations directed by Clementina Panella since the 1980s, and latterly by Sabina Zeggio, have been key to the rethinking of the history of the street network prior to the construction of the *domus Aurea*.³²⁶ While it may seem far removed from the Forum Romanum, the area is important for understanding both city-wide movement and local movement in the direction of and from the forum. What is now clear is that the *Meta Sudans*

³²⁴ Ziolkowski 1989: 229, n.49.

³²⁵ Coarelli's hypothesis was immediately critiqued by Castagnoli 1982, then again in 1988. Other important criticisms are Ziolkowski 1989 and 2004. See also Brown 1984; Buranelli La Pera & D'Elia 1986; Terrenato 1992; Palombi 1997a; 1997b. For other important revisions, in the context of the location of the Porta Mugonia and the Palatine walls, see Carandini 2004. The finer points of Carandini's work on the *Sacra via* have been critiqued in detail by Wiseman 2008: 271-92 (see now also Wiseman 2009 for further critique of Carandini's methodology). Coarelli 2008: 81-2 acknowledges that numerous problems remain.

³²⁶ Panella 1998: esp. 47–9. For further summaries see Zeggio 2005 and Zeggio & Pardini 2007. This work is ongoing: http://www.fastionline.org/record_view.php?fst_cd=AIAC_363

was preceded by an Augustan *compitum* at the approximate junction of five streets (fig. 21).³²⁷



Figure 21 The Augustan street network and *compitum* near the later *Meta Sudans* (Zeggio & Pardini 2007: fig. 12).

Respecting what we know of other major junctions in the city of Rome, this was also the location of a public fountain or basin.³²⁸ Opposite this may have been the *Curia Veteres*, and so one of the streets may have been the *vicus Curiarum*.³²⁹ We are told that Augustus was born in the (*vicus*) *ad Capita Bubula*, in *regione Palati*, which was evidently near to the *Curia*

³²⁷ Zeggio & Pardini 2007: 10-11 on the convergence of roads at this point and the presence of Augustan basalt street paving. For the structural details of the *compitum*, see 14 and on a possible *omphalos*, see 20-1.

³²⁸ See also the examples in the Esquiline in Malmberg 2009.

³²⁹ *CIL* VI 975 (A.D. 136).

Veteres.³³⁰ The proximity of this junction to the birthplace of Augustus may have influenced its symbolic significance but, more likely, its importance is related to a pre-Augustan street network that allowed for the easy topographical division of the incumbent regions. This *compitum* formed the boundary between several regions, and must therefore be associated with the reorganisation of the city's administrative space in 7 B.C.

The Augustan *compitum* lay marginally south of the post-Neronian *Meta*. The *compitum* fitted into the existing street space, thus respecting the line of the street that descended from the west, between the Palatine and the Velia (a continuation of the so-called 'traditional' *Sacra via* from the area of the later Arch of Titus). However the pavement was significantly broader on the north side of the junction, around the *compitum*, which extended into the street. Given the number of roads that converged here from multiple directions, it may be significant that the *compitum* was oriented to be approached from the west – the direction of the forum (fig. 22).³³¹ The importance of this junction may be inferred from its routine renovation until the changes for Nero's *domus Aurea* in the mid-late first century A.D. From recent excavations we can reconstruct the history of this junction as follows.³³² The first signs of this route are from the late-seventh or early-sixth century B.C., when irregular blocks of cappellaccio were laid down and, soon after, modified to include a drain (ca. 570 B.C.) while a wall of similar material defined the southern limit of the street (at this time of "ciottoli" - cobblestones). Sometime shortly after a new wall was constructed and the street widened to 5.5m, comparable to other thoroughfares towards the Forum Romanum, such as the *vicus Iugarius* (discussed below). From the second century B.C. onwards we see successive repaving of the street in basalt with a pedestrian sidewalk in *tuffo rosso*, and the development

³³⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 5; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.361 says Augustus was born *in curiis veteribus*, so the two must have been close.

³³¹ Zeggio & Pardini 2007: 10, fig. 11 shows steps to the *compitum*, approached from the west.

³³² This chronology follows that in Zeggio 2005: 271-3, fig. 2.

of a large *domus* to the west of the *compitum*, on the road to the Forum Romanum.³³³ The Augustan *compitum* defined the line of the street again in 7 B.C. Throughout the first century A.D. the level of the road continued to gradually rise with new paving, and the wide pavement of travertine was renovated throughout the Julio-Claudian dynasty, including a major renovation of the *compitum* by Claudius in ca. A.D. 50.³³⁴ Zeggio attaches particular importance to this junction. It is certainly accurate that the junction can boast sustained attention over the first century, and being in the locale of Augustus' birth this may not be coincidental.³³⁵ For our purposes, we can say that an important and well-maintained junction existed to the east of the Forum Romanum, and this junction was the focal point for the Augustan administrative division of the city. However, it was evidently an important junction before this period, for reasons linked solely to movement.³³⁶ It is an example of how the through movement potential of the Forum Romanum was linked not only to the number of streets that ran into it, but to the importance of the junctions where those streets originated. Again, we must note the importance of understanding configured space and movement between locations.

Zeggio laments how in A.D. 64, ca. 800 years of successive repaving and attention lavished on this important junction – which would also have been the left turn towards the Forum Romanum for the triumphal processions heading from the Circus Maximus – came to an end through Nero's decision to alter the space in the wake of the great fire.

³³³ In the mid-Republic with *opus incertum* walls, an *impluvium* and geometric mosaic pavements; later redeveloped in the late-Republic to *opus reticulatum*, with travertine pilasters and associated *tabernae*. To the north of the *compitum* was a *domus* with heated baths and *tabernae*.

³³⁴ Panella 1998: 47-9.

³³⁵ Zeggio 2005: 276.

³³⁶ We should, however, note that the street leading over the Caelian to the *porta Capena* may have been a new addition under the Julio-Claudians. Panella 1998: 47.

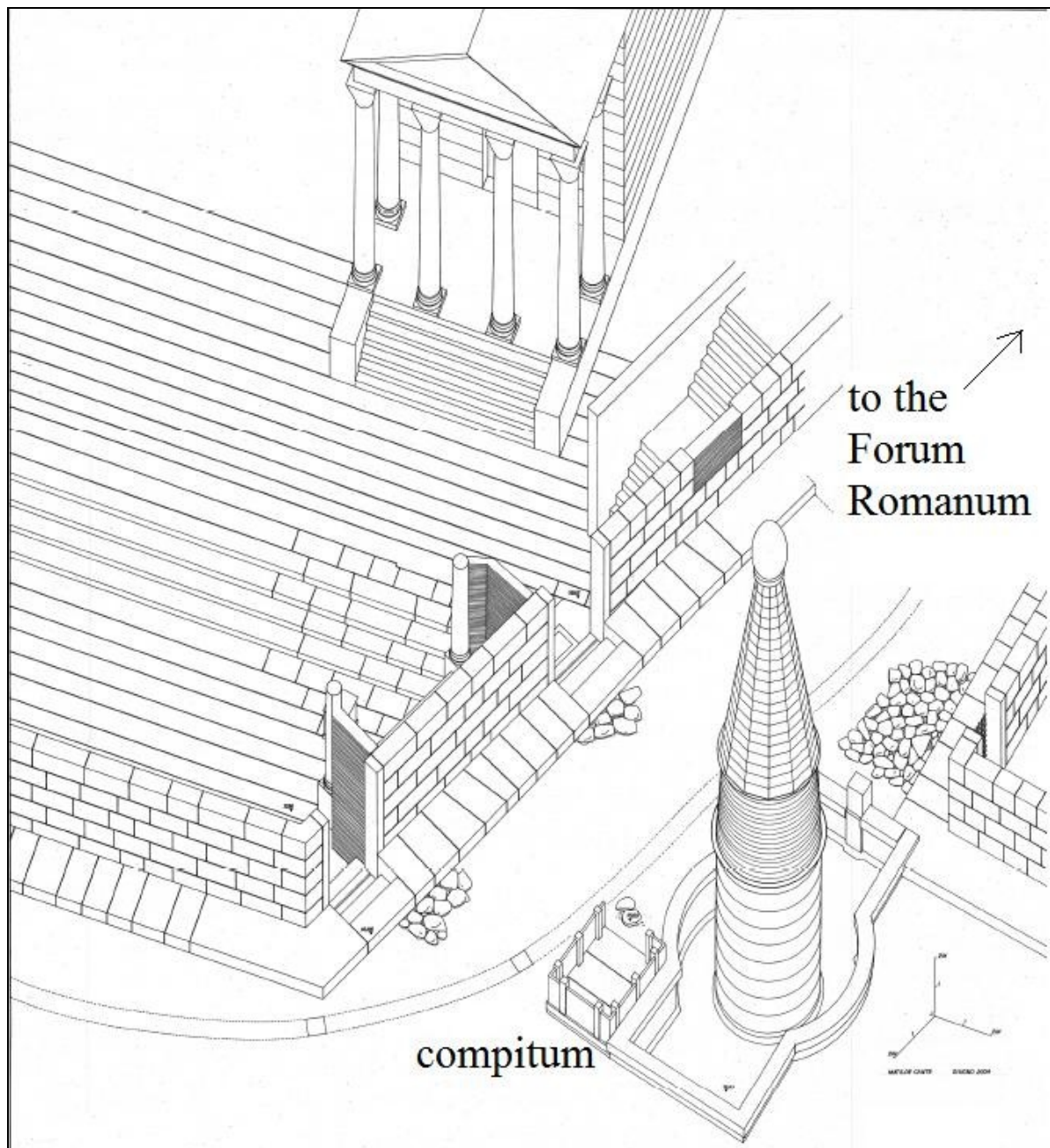


Figure 22 Reconstruction of the Augustan *compitum* east of the Forum Romanum. (Zeggio & Pardini 2007: fig. 27).

In considering the Neronian alterations of this space, we can now clearly see that a former junction from five directions was transformed into a junction from only three (the west, the north and the south). Essentially, we can see the transformation of a confluence of roads – an organic space, lacking homogeneity, united by the *compitum* – into a conceived T-junction. The Flavian *Meta Sudans* respected the orientation of local streets, but the course of this east-west street had been changed by Nero in the context of his reorganisation of the approach to

the *domus Aurea*.³³⁷ Indeed, excavations show that a row of *tabernae*-like structures ran in a continuous line from north to south, terminating the approach from the direction of the Forum Romanum (fig. 23). The streets that formerly ran east of this junction were eliminated with the construction of Nero's *naumachia*. It has been doubted whether the *domus Aurea* had any significant impact on movement in the middle of the city, other than in the superficial realignment of existing routes such as the *Sacra via*.³³⁸ However, the recent excavations show that an important urban node was removed and replaced. This was reconstituted in the Flavian period, leading to the open area around the Colosseum – which according to Suetonius was characterised by that now familiar moniker, *in media urbis*.³³⁹

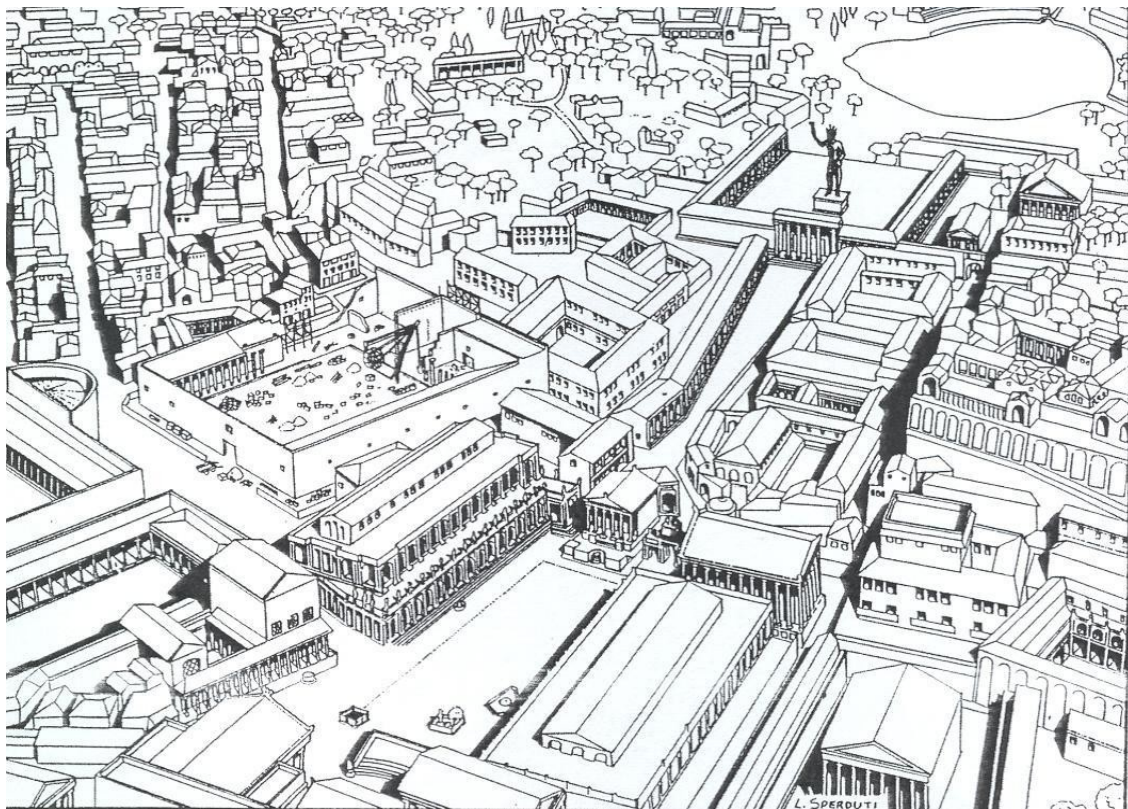


Figure 23 Hypothetical reconstruction of the Neronian *Sacra via* (Welch 2007: fig. 97).

³³⁷ See van Deman 1923; Ziolkowski 1989: 230, n.55.

³³⁸ E.g. Griffin 1984: 139-41; Elsner 1994: 121. Reviewed in Welch 2007: 153-5. Platner and Ashby 1929: 167 on the closure of the *Sacra via* after A.D. 69. Perrin 2003 has studied the restrictions on movement to the Palatine under Nero. While tangential to this present discussion, they help to contextualise broader approaches to movement under Nero, which were not in the habit of facilitating urban traffic.

³³⁹ Suet. *Vesp.*, 9, item amphitheatrum urbe media.

3.3.1.3 The *Vicus Tuscus*, *Velabrum* and *Vicus Iugarius*

As we saw in Chapter 2, the crowd of the *vicus Tuscus* generated comment in antiquity, and movement through this area is one of its key characteristics. The *vicus Tuscus* – in *foro propinqua* –³⁴⁰ entered the Forum Romanum between the *Basilica Iulia* and the *aedes Castoris* (ca. 4m wide), and ran to the *Velabrum* and then on to the Forum Boarium and Circus Maximus (fig. 24).³⁴¹ Various trades are known from there, some less reputable than others.³⁴² Cicero condemned Verres for failing to properly maintain the street, all the more important because of its use for processions.³⁴³ Propertius is perhaps the most important source for routine, daily movement on the *vicus Tuscus*, referring to the statue of Vortumnus which stood in the area, within sight of the forum. The statue has not been found but its location is fairly well established in numerous sources, being behind the *Basilica Iulia*, to the west of the street.³⁴⁴ Vortumnus is said to have delighted in the *turba* that passed by.³⁴⁵ Propertius' use of *transeo* clearly links this to through movement. The *vicus Tuscus* was an important route to and from the Forum Romanum, and the examples in Chapter 2 of *loci celeberrimi* in the area confirm this perception in antiquity.³⁴⁶ It was, however, only one of two southwest to northeast streets that ran from the Forum Boarium, and it is worth

³⁴⁰ Tac. *Ann.*, 4.65.

³⁴¹ Livy 27.37.15; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, 5.36.4.

³⁴² Mart. 11.27.11 on clothes for sale; Plaut. *Curc.* 482 on prostitution; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.228 on the *in pia turba*. See Papi 2002 for a detailed review of these merchants.

³⁴³ Cic. *in Verr.* 2.1.59, Quis a signo Vortumni in circum maximum venit quin in uno quoque gradu de avaritia tua commoneretur? quam tu viam tensarum atque pompae cius modi exegisti ut tu ipse illa ire non aurea. That Caesar's axle broke as he passed the *Velabrum* (Suet. *Iul.* 37.2) may have been seen as auspicious but may have been down to nothing more than poor road maintenance.

³⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion see Putnam 1967; Ps. Asc. *in Verr.*, 2.1.59, signum Vortumni in ultimo vico Turario est sub basilicae angulo flectentibus se ad Rostra versus dextrem partem.

³⁴⁵ Prop. 4.2; on the statue of Vortumnus, Var. *LL.* 5.46. Vortumnus' crowd is discussed by O'Neill 2000: 262-3.

³⁴⁶ See also the use of this route in Catull. 55, discussed by Wiseman 1980.

considering the *vicus Iugarius* and the *Velabrum* (a *locus celeberrimus* adjoining the *vicus Tuscus*), in some detail.



Figure 24 View looking south along the *vicus Tuscus*, between the podium of the *aedes Castoris* (left) and the *Basilica Julia* (right). (Photo = author).

The traditional understanding of the *Velabrum* as the area between the Palatine and the Capitoline has recently been reconsidered.³⁴⁷ In part this stems from the notion that Suetonius' description of Caesar's triumph – *Velabrum praetervehens* – should be translated

³⁴⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.36.4, refers to the region which extends between the Palatine and the Capitoline, but avoids the term *Velabrum*, and mentions instead the presence there of the *vicus Tuscus*: ἔνθα οἰκήσεις ἔμελλον κατασκευάσασθαι, τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τέτταρσι μάλιστα μηκυνόμενον σταδίοις αὐλῶνα, ὃς καὶ μέχρις ἑμοῦ Τυρρηνῶν οἰκησις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον διάλεκτον ἢ φέρουσα διόδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵππόδρομον.

as riding past, not through, the *Velabrum*.³⁴⁸ Coarelli, influenced by Livy's description of a processional route, argued that the course was determined by the earlier need to skirt around the "palude" of the *Velabrum*; a feature of the route fossilised in cultural memory even when the area was built over.³⁴⁹ The *Velabrum*, to Coarelli and many others, was thus the broad area between the *vicus Iugarius* and the *vicus Tuscus*.³⁵⁰ Wiseman rewrites Coarelli's route, and location of the Velabrum, so that the triumph passes through the Forum Boarium to the Circus Maximus, and passes the *Velabrum*, which was a specific location (a piazza), located in the area of San Giorgio in Velabro.³⁵¹ This was built against the Arch of the Argentarii, thought to mark the entrance to the *locus celeberrimus* of the Forum Boarium; a site, like the Forum Romanum, with much through movement potential because of the number of routes that converged there.³⁵² The relationship between movement, traffic and the *Velabrum* was considered to be etymological: Varro derives the name from *vehere* (to convey).³⁵³

Epigraphic and textual evidence suggests a busy market place over a sustained period of time. Several inscriptions refer to the bankers (*argentarii*), wine-sellers (*vinarii*) and a

³⁴⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 37.2. Wiseman 2007b, and Beard 2007: 102-3 for similar thoughts.

³⁴⁹ Coarelli 1968: 65; 1988: 266. The marsh of the *Velabrum* is a familiar trope in Var. *LL.* 5.156; Ov. *F.* 6.405-8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.50.2; 5.43-4.

³⁵⁰ Coarelli 1988: 34.

³⁵¹ Wiseman contends that the numerous references to the *Velabrum* as a specific location outweigh the unique use of *regio* by Tib. 2.5.33 (at qua Velabri region patet), or Var. *LL.* 5.156 use of 'in minore Velabrum', which implies differentiation within a wider area. Early medieval sources corroborate Wiseman's suggestion that it was a specific locality (Anon. *Lives of the Popes* 93.24).

³⁵² The arch was still permeable and carried a path through it in the seventeenth century (Nash 1968, I: 91). Paving and sewers are visible on Lanciani 1901: plate 29. *CIL* VI 1035, ARGENTARII ET NEGOTIANTES BOARII HUIUS LOCI QUI INVEHENT. For the arch as the entrance to the Forum Boarium, see Coarelli 1988: 10-2. While this may be appropriate, less so may be considering it to be at the end of the *Vicus Tuscus*, unless the course of that street was significantly further west of the Cermalus. It remains to be discussed whether there was any earlier marker at this point, since the arch dates to the early third century A.D. At only 3.3 metres wide it is narrower than the *vicus Tuscus* nearer the Forum Romanum. On traffic in the Forum Boarium, see Coarelli 1988: 296.

³⁵³ Var. *LL.* 5.44, Velabrum a vehendo.

food-seller (*negotiator penoris*) of the *Velabrum*.³⁵⁴ Texts provide a similar picture. Plautus, in the third century B.C., talks of oil-sellers, bakers, butchers and soothsayers.³⁵⁵ Martial praised the cheese made in the area.³⁵⁶ Such variety was drawn together by Horace, referring to the whole market of the *Velabrum*.³⁵⁷ As we have seen, Macrobius called the *Velabrum* a *locus celeberrimus*. This would be not only because of the accumulated merchants who crowded the area but because of its location (the latter, of course, predisposing it to the former): it was between the Forum Romanum and Forum Boarium and was either on or alongside one of the busier routes in the city, the *vicus Tuscus*. It was also considered a through-route of sorts between the Forum Romanum and the Palatine.³⁵⁸

The other street that ran from the Forum Boarium was the *vicus Iugarius*, which entered the Forum Romanum between the *aedes Saturni* and the *Basilica Iulia* (ca. 5m wide). Discussions of movement and the concentration of activity on this street are less frequent than for the *vicus Tuscus*, and this is not necessarily a matter of coincidence. Rather, one can argue that the *vicus Tuscus* was a more heavily used route. That said, the importance of the route of the *vicus Iugarius* cannot be denied, as it linked the wider city beyond the forum with the Tiber. It is now clear that the original course of the *vicus Iugarius* was not a continuation of

³⁵⁴ *CIL* VI 9184, ARGENTARI(I) DE VELABRO; 9993, VINARIUS DE VELABRO. The more fragmentary *CIL* VI 33933 and 37803 can be extrapolated to [VIN]ARIUS DE VELAB[RO]; *CIL* VI 9671, NEGOTIATOR PENORIS ET VINORUM DE VELABRO.

³⁵⁵ Plaut. *Capt.* 489, quasi i Velabro olerarii; *Curc.* 483, in Velabro vel pisorem vel lanium vel haruspicem.

³⁵⁶ Mart. 11.52.10, et Velabrensi massa coacta foco; 13.32, non quemcumque focum nec fimum caseus omnem, sed Velabrensem qui bibit, ille sapit.

³⁵⁷ Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.279, cum Velabro omne macellum mare domum veniant. In his review of the retail and commercial nature of this and nearby areas, Papi 2002 uses *Velabrum* in the traditional sense.

³⁵⁸ Although all such examples suggest that it was not the obvious choice, but was rather a back-route. On Otho's movement from the *domus Tiberiana* to the *Miliarium Aureum*, via the *Velabrum*, see Tac. *Hist.* 1.27; Suet. *Otho* 6.2; Plut. *Galb.*, 24.4. These passages are discussed in Fraser 2007. To this we might also add Claudius' escape from a mob in the forum by a back door, which might be the same route (Suet. *Claud.*, 18.2).

the *Argiletum*; in fact, rather than having the original course to the south-east in order to line up with the *Argiletum*, it appears that the road was originally slightly further north, thus aimed more at the *clivus Argentarius* at the foot of the Capitoline.³⁵⁹ The original orientation of the *aedes Saturni* was 4° further north than its present orientation, which is a product of the rebuilding of the temple in 42 B.C. by L. Munatius Plancus.³⁶⁰ The subtle shift necessarily truncated some of the northern pavement of the street. The argument that the *vicus Iugarius* originally continued across the edge of the forum towards the Republican *Rostra* may be significant for understanding how the street connected to the forum before the changes to the northwest of the forum under Caesar. It is not clear how the different levels were mediated, and it is possible that the *vicus Iugarius* did not enter the Forum Romanum at all until the late Republic; instead skirting along the area considered a separate topographical entity – *in imo clivo Capitolino* – from where gates opened into the forum space proper (see below). Therefore the *vicus Iugarius* might be considered as joining the *clivus Argentarius* rather than the forum itself; forming an extended ring-road beneath and around the *Arx* and the Capitoline. This detail is discussed further in the following section of this chapter.

Somewhere at the forum end of the street was the *lacus Servilius*, where the heads of executed criminals were displayed.³⁶¹ This was probably destroyed during the rebuilding of the temple, perhaps owing to the truncation of the northern side of the street. A Renaissance drawing of part of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (18d) shows the area where the *vicus Iugarius*

³⁵⁹ Van Deman (1922: 14) noted how the area at the west end of the Forum Romanum was raised by a curb, 30cm above the piazza. This was paved with small tesserae above late Republican concrete. The area would not have been suitable for vehicle traffic and therefore indicates a pedestrian, or entirely inaccessible, area across where such reconstructions would connect the *vicus Iugarius* and the *Argiletum*.

³⁶⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 29.5. Maetzke 1991: 58-75.

³⁶¹ Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.*, 89. Van Deman (1922: 26) locates this at a 9.3x7.8m platform, level with the start of the *clivus Capitolinus* and therefore elevated above the forum. This would predate the restorations to the *aedes Saturni* in 42 B.C.

entered the forum (fig. 25), although it has numerous errors: the street is much wider in the drawing than in reality (ca. 18m compared to ca. 5m), the angles of the temple and basilica are parallel where in reality they are not, and the *Arcus Tiberii* (see below) is missing. Interestingly, the space is labelled [Sat]urni, after the adjacent temple, rather than carrying the name of the street (although this could, of course, have been inscribed somewhere else on the ca. 275 metres between this area and the *porta Carmentalis*).

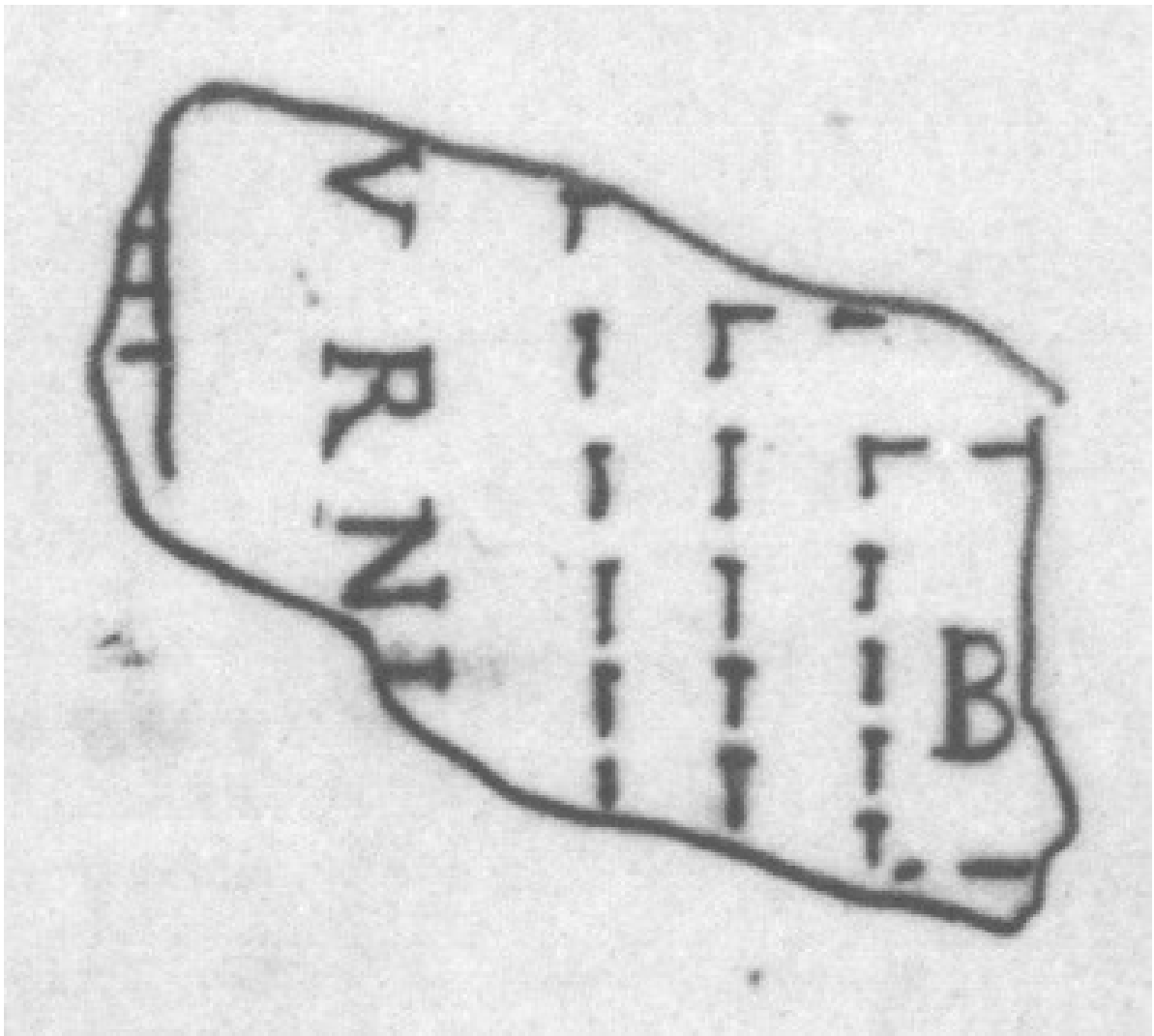


Figure 25 Renaissance drawing of *FUR* 18d showing the *vicus Iugarius* between the *aedis Saturni* and *Basilica Iulia*. The Forum Romanum is off picture, at the top.

One of the few texts to specifically describe movement on the *vicus Iugarius* is Livy's description of a procession from the *aedes Apollo* in the *Campus Martius* to the *aedes Iuno*

Regina on the Aventine, in 207 B.C.³⁶² This entered the *Urbs* through the *porta Carmentalis* at the southwest corner of the Capitoline and turned left onto the *vicus Iugarius* towards the forum.³⁶³ The procession then stopped in the forum (*in forum pompa constitit*) before exiting by the *vicus Tuscus*. Other than for processions, we lack texts that describe movement in any great detail, although it is clear that the street was an important one: Livy describes how a rock that fell from the Capitoline killed many people, implying a certain degree of activity on the street below.³⁶⁴ From the point of view of the average user of the street, the *vicus Iugarius* may have been less attractive because of the looming rocks of the Capitoline, rising precariously above the street.³⁶⁵ Pragmatically speaking, this hazard may have been a reason why the *vicus Tuscus* was more heavily used.

Still, though our sources may imply an imbalance between activity on the *vicus Iugarius* and *vicus Tuscus*, the former was an important street that led to the forum from an important location. Indeed, its very name may have been related to movement. Festus explained that the name was derived from an altar to Iuno *Iuga* which stood on the street,³⁶⁶ but an alternative reading is that the name derived from the fact that this route joined (*iungere*) the Forum Romanum, and all those spaces beyond it, with the Tiber.³⁶⁷

³⁶² Livy 27.37.11-5. Discussed by Coarelli 1988: 384-5.

³⁶³ Livy 27.37.14, a porta Iugaria vico in forum venere.

³⁶⁴ Livy 35.21.6, Saxum ingens, sive imbribus seu motu terrae leniore quam ut alioqui sentiretur, labefactatum in vicum Iugarium ex Capitolio procidit et multos oppressit.

³⁶⁵ Plut. *Cam.* 25.2.

³⁶⁶ Fest. 92L, Iugarius vicus dictus Romae, quia ibi fuerat ara Iunonis Iugae, quam putabant matrimonia iungere.

³⁶⁷ The Italian derivation *giungere* (to ‘arrive’, or ‘reach’) preserves this meaning, based on movement.



Figure 26 View looking south towards the *vicus Iugarius*, from behind the *Rostra Augusti*. (Photo= author).

The junction of the *vicus Iugarius* at the *porta Carmentalis* was a significant nodal point for movement in the city. At this point a *compital* altar was erected, near to the temples of Magna

Mater and Fortuna which were accessed from the *vicus Iugarius*.³⁶⁸ This *compitum* likely marked the boundaries of *Regiones* VIII, IX and XI.³⁶⁹ Again we see a propensity for Regionary boundaries to be based on existing nodal points in the urban landscape. Like the example at the *Meta Sudans*, the *compitum* was oriented towards the direction of the forum, and a flight of steps gave access to a closed *cella* (like the arrangement of the *compitum Acilii*, (fig. 27).³⁷⁰ It was located to the east of the temple precinct, where the *vicus Iugarius* branched with another street that ran to the south.³⁷¹ It attests to the importance of the *vicus Iugarius* in the pre-Augustan road network, and the formal recognition of the importance of this node in the later administrative organisation of the city. However, it may also reveal an interesting imbalance between official perception of space (and official conception in the formalising of the Augustan *Regiones*) and everyday spatial behaviours, since the *vicus Tuscus* was arguably the more important of these two routes for the everyday, if not official or processional, life of the city.

³⁶⁸ Coarelli 1988: 206, fig. 32.

³⁶⁹ Coarelli 1988: 234-6, figs. 47-8.

³⁷⁰ See Colini 1961-2; Dondin-Payre 1987; Palombi 1997a: 39-44, figs. 44-6. This was not oriented towards the Forum Romanum, but from the direction of the streets running down from the Esquiline.

³⁷¹ This *compitum* has not been discussed in any great detail, but see Coarelli 1988: 244; Stek 2008: 129, n.109. On the location and type of *compita* depicted on the *Forma Urbis Romae* see Pisani Sartorio 1988. Mavrojanis 1995: 109-11 with brief description.

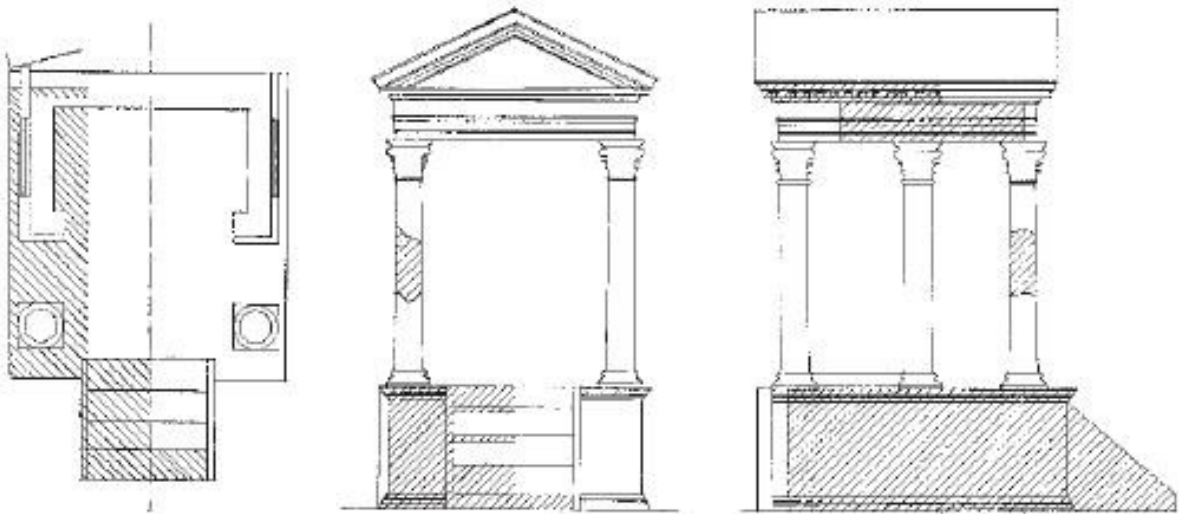


Figure 27 The *compitum Acilii* as uncovered during the construction of Via dei Fori Imperiali (néé Via dell'Impero) (top) and as reconstructed (bottom). The *compitum* at the *vicus Iugarius* was similar to this type (Colini 1961-2: figs 7 and 12).

3.3.2 The Spaces of Transition

The previous section sought to review the basic topography around the Forum Romanum and to interpret how busy those streets might be, and thus how significant they may have been for the through movement potential of the forum itself. This section serves to consider the transition from outside of the forum to inside, focusing on structures marking the transition, and what they may imply for how movement was perceived, facilitated and managed. One of the clearest ways to mark transitional space was through the erection of an arch across the street. The significance of the arch in urban space has been well discussed by MacDonald, who considers them first and foremost a mechanism of “transit and transition”.³⁷² This characterises depictions of arches in Roman historical reliefs. The arch not only expresses the act of transition through a particular physical space but an associated, almost metonymic transition from one state to the other (the setting out to war, or the return of the emperor to the city). An egregious example is the depiction of Marcus Aurelius’ triumph passing through a single arch (fig. 28). If Coarelli’s identification of this arch as the *porta Triumphalis* is correct, then this depicts the transition into the old *Urbs*, and in terms of movement in the city, on to the *vicus Iugarius* and then to the Forum Romanum, as discussed above.³⁷³ This would attest to the continued use of the *vicus Iugarius* for processional movement, involving *quadrigae*, towards the Forum Romanum. This is important when we consider the impact on movement of the addition of the *Arcus Tiberii* (discussed below).

³⁷² MacDonald 1986: 74-86. See the inscription from Aeclanum in Campania, which defined the arch as a space of transition: *ILLRP* 599, in foro et fornic[em] qua in foro eitu[r] f[aciendum].

³⁷³ See Coarelli 1988: 374-9 and fig. 87. The reliefs are discussed in detail by Angelicoussis 1984.



Figure 28 Relief of Marcus Aurelius' triumph passing through an arch, probably the *porta Triumphalis* before the *vicus Iugarius*.

Arches have the effect of channelling movement from one space to another: “However chaotic that traffic or space may be, it is forced by the organizing forms and implications of

the arch into more systematic patterns”.³⁷⁴ As well as systematising movement through a particular opening, arches define certain spatial limits and prohibit later development that might redefine movement further. Arches thus respond to pre-existing movement, pattern contemporary movement, and restrict future movement. What might the arches around the forum say about movement into and out of that space?

Perhaps surprisingly, only three arches can be found around the eight principal entrances to the Forum Romanum: the *fornix Fabianus*, the *Arcus Augusti* and the *Arcus Tiberii*.³⁷⁵ It has previously been suggested that the term *fornix* was given to arches that were permeable and functioned by spanning thoroughfares, while the term *arcus* was given to those that were blocked with statues.³⁷⁶ This theory seems tenuous and the later references to the *fornix Fabianus* as an *arcus* defy this logic, instead reflecting the broader cultural shift to avoid *fornix*, with its unsavoury associations with brothels.³⁷⁷

The designs of the arches themselves are of little direct assistance in understanding the patterns of movement on the streets that they crossed, and we rely on contextual evidence from other sources. We cannot propose a model whereby there is a simple corollary between

³⁷⁴ MacDonald 1986: 75.

³⁷⁵ I differ here from MacDonald 1986: 80 who says there were six in the “original” forum. He is not explicit, but this seems to refer to the three under discussion here plus a second arch to Augustus (probably replaced), that of Septimius Severus (later) and a *Iani* somewhere near the *Basilica Aemilia* (not clear from archaeology and perhaps best sought as a later development of the *fornix Fabianus*). I do not discuss here the arch of Scipio Africanus, erected somewhere alongside (*adversus*) the *clivus Capitolinus* in 190 B.C. (Livy 37.3.7), because it was evidently someway up the hill, not at the entrance to the Forum Romanum. The same might be said of the *fornix Calpurnius* (Oros. 5.9.2); even further towards, or even in, the *Area Capitolina*.

³⁷⁶ Russell Forbes 1892: 39-40. Frederick 2003: 222 suggested that the stem of both the Greek and Latin – *αρκ-* and *arc-* – were related to concepts of defence and the enclosure of space.

³⁷⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1990: esp. 145-7 argued that the use of the term *arcus* under the Principate reflected a conscious avoidance of the term *fornix*. On such evidence for the *fornix Fabianus*: Cicero consistently referred to it as a *fornix*, while Seneca and the *Historia Augusta* referred to it as an *arcus* (see below).

arch size and traffic use, with wide, triple arches necessarily a response to or anticipation of higher volumes of movement than was necessary for a single arch.³⁷⁸ For instance, the triple *Arcus Augusti* erected to the south of the *aedes Divi Iuli* was in what was arguably a pedestrian zone (see below) – while the *Arcus Tiberii* and the *fornix Fabianus* were only single arches but ones that spanned the considerably busier, vehicular thoroughfares of the *vicus Iugarius* and *Sacra via* respectively.³⁷⁹ Nevertheless, while lacking a straightforward explanation, we can consider these arches in more detail here for what we might infer about movement into the forum.

3.3.2.1 The *Sacra via* and *fornix Fabianus*

The first arch constructed at or near the forum was the *fornix Fabianus*, erected by Q. Fabius Allobrogicus in 121 B.C. over the *Sacra via*.³⁸⁰ It was restored by his grandson in 56 B.C.³⁸¹ Regrettably, given its importance for understanding how movement into the forum first came to be marked and defined, fragile evidence has restricted detailed discussion of the arch in its proper context. It has been putatively reconstructed on the basis of scattered fragments found near the *Regia* which would suggest that it was a single arch spanning the street with a width of ca. 4m.³⁸² It was evidently high enough to provoke mockery at L. Memmius who, when

³⁷⁸ On the model of *fornix* size to traffic intensity for city gates, see van Tilburg 2008.

³⁷⁹ Similarly, it is not applicable to think that later arches are wider because of an increase in urban traffic (again as postulated for city gates), since the chronology of those around the Forum Romanum goes: single arch, triple arch, single arch.

³⁸⁰ The arch has received relatively little attention, perhaps because of the difficulties over location, but see Coarelli 1985: 171-6 and Chioffi 1996: 26-36; Welch 2005: 5.

³⁸¹ *CIL* VI 1303.

³⁸² Hülsen 1982: 194 gave a width of 3.80m; Platner & Ashby 1929: 211 gave an even more specific measurement of 3.945m. The dimensions of the arch are beyond reconstruction, since its associated inscriptions survive only in copies which did not preserve the original scale and thus do not allow us to

entering the forum, bent his head as he passed under the arch: a sign that he had overestimated his physical, as well as social, stature.³⁸³

It was evidently perceived as being at the entrance to the forum as one came from the *Sacra via*, and Seneca defined the forum in one instance as “from the Rostra to the Arch of Fabius”.³⁸⁴ It should therefore be sought around the traditional boundary of the *Regia*. At this point, however, there is a fork in the road which leads to the forum, and so two possibilities. The *fornix Fabianus* either spanned the left fork, over the *vicus Vestae*, or spanned the right fork, straight on along the *Sacra via*. Remains of a small tufa pylon, which may have supported a single arch, were discovered at the eastern end of the *vicus Vestae* in 1953 and form the evidence for assuming that the arch crossed the street to the south/left of the *Regia* (fig. 31b).³⁸⁵ However, while noting that this was “very likely” the *fornix Fabianus*, Carettoni sensibly added that the archaeological remains were “too slight” and that the area was subject to “systematic devastation” in the Renaissance, and so identifications of remains are replete with caveats.³⁸⁶ If this were the location of the arch, we should note that its northern pier was built in the street, thus narrowing its width.

The alternative location – north/right of the *Regia* – was championed by Coarelli, and seems more congruent with textual evidence.³⁸⁷ Sources variously describe its location as: near the *puteal Libonis* (located, on the basis of other textual evidence, at the southeast corner of the *Basilica Aemilia*);³⁸⁸ *iuxta Regiam in Sacra Via*;³⁸⁹ and *ante sacram viam, inter*

estimate either the size of the attic or the statuary associated with the arch, of which there are numerous candidates. For a reconstruction of these inscriptions see de Rossi 1859: 313.

³⁸³ Cic. *de Or.* 2.267, ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium, ut in forum descendens caput ad fornicem Fabianum demitteret. Note here the use of *descendere*, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

³⁸⁴ Sen. *Dial.* 2.1.3, a rostris usque ad arcum Fabianum.

³⁸⁵ Discussed in Carnabuci 1991: 303, n.11.

³⁸⁶ Carettoni 1960: 195.

³⁸⁷ Coarelli 1983: 171-6.

³⁸⁸ Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.8 and Porphy., *ad loc.*, Puteal autem Libonis sedis praetoris fuit prope arcum Fabianum inde dictum.

templum Faustinae ac Vestae (ad arcum Fabianum).³⁹⁰ No source is entirely unambiguous, but the combination of oblique references would locate the arch to the north of the *Regia*. Moreover, this is to the west, further towards the forum than the pylons on the *vicus Vestae*, and therefore more accurately at the entrance to the forum itself.³⁹¹ It would also be close to the traffic moving to and from the *Corneta*.

There would likely have been a concentration of movement at the arch, the more so, perhaps, if the *vicus Vestae* were not passable for vehicles (see below). Cicero hints at congestion there when he talked of, admittedly hypothetically, being pushed by the crowd around the arch.³⁹² A crowd also gathered here as the election results of 69 B.C. were announced.³⁹³ As noted, this was the first arch around the forum, and so its location across the *Sacra via* is the result of first-choice rather than utilising available space. The choice of the *Sacra via* reflects that street's importance in terms of natural movement in the second century B.C. and through into the following century, when it was renovated and when Cicero talked of the crowds that gathered there. The *fornix Fabianus* was a monument set up by an individual in the spirit of self promotion, and seeking a busy location would be a priority. That the first arch around the forum was built to the north of the *Regia*, at the spot where those descending from the *Sacra via* would enter the open area, can be no coincidence.

³⁸⁹ Cic. *Schol. in Act. I in Verrem*. The use of *in* (*Sacra via*) more closely links this arch to the street itself, compared to the earlier reference to the arch of Scipio Africanus, *adversus* the *clivus Capitolinus*. This confirms the notion that the arch spanned the street rather than stood alongside it.

³⁹⁰ Hist. Aug. *Gall.* 19.4.

³⁹¹ As in Cic. *de. Or.* 2.267.

³⁹² Cic. *pro Planc.* 7 *equidem, si quando, ut fit, iactor in turba, non illum accuso qui est in summa sacra via, cum ego ad Fabianum fornicem impellor, sed eum qui in me ipsum incurrit atque incidit.*

³⁹³ Cic. *Verr.* 1.7, *ad ipsum fornicem Fabianum in turba.*

3.3.2.2 The *Vicus Vestae* and *Arcus Augusti*

The next arch around the Forum Romanum was the *Arcus Augusti* in 29 or 19 B.C. A brief word of identification is necessary, since there may have been two arches dedicated to Augustus. Ostensibly, the first was dedicated in 29 B.C. following the victory at Actium, and the second a decade later following the return of the standards captured by the Parthians. Earlier reconstructions had little doubt about considering these as two separate structures, placing them either side of the *aedes Divi Iuli* and forming a dramatic Julio-Claudian façade to the eastern end of the forum. However, it may be that there was only one arch or, at most, two stages to the same arch, in roughly the same location – *iuxta aedem divi Iulii* – more specifically, south of the *aedes Divi Iuli*, between it and the *aedes Castoris*.³⁹⁴ Hülsen suggested that there was only one arch constructed, in 19 B.C. ten years after it was decreed.³⁹⁵ Holland argued that the two arches are in fact two phases of the same arch: a single arch in 29 B.C., with two side arches added in 19 B.C.³⁹⁶ Others suspected that a single arch was built in 29 B.C., demolished and replaced by a triple arch ten years later (figs. 31c and 31d).³⁹⁷ Dio, our only source on the matter, says that an arch was ‘granted’ to Augustus in 29 B.C., but does not say that it was built; while the later arch is an honour included in a list of deeds that had been carried out.³⁹⁸ This brief discussion leaves this issue to one side and concentrates on the remains that have been found south of the *aedes Divi Iuli* (fig. 31d). If

³⁹⁴ Schol. Veron. Verg. Aen. 7.605.

³⁹⁵ Hülsen 1982: 130.

³⁹⁶ Holland 1946: 56 and 1953. This argument stems from differences in the construction of the central and lateral arches.

³⁹⁷ Carettoni 1960: 195 following Gamberini Mongenet, who identified two blocks of *opus caementicium*, immediately east of the triple arch, as the earlier bases. See Carnabuci 1991: 275-6 and 343-4, which refutes this theory.

³⁹⁸ Cass. Dio. 51.19.1, τὰ τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἀψῖδα τροπαιοφόρον ἔν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἔδωκαν; 54.8.3, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλῃτος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη.

there were two arches, at least one of them can be securely located here, and if the other were in the area of the *fornix Fabianus*, north of the temple as Coarelli would have it, it can thus be considered in terms of movement on the *Sacra via*, already outlined above.³⁹⁹

The triple arch at the point where the *vicus Vestae* entered the forum had two side arches of 2.66m and a central arch of 4.13m.⁴⁰⁰ The southernmost passage ran up against the northeast corner of the podium of the *aedes Castoris*, although this may not have been an original arrangement, and may date to later renovations under Tiberius or Hadrian. In either case, it was not permeable for pedestrian traffic, which would instead have used the central arch.

The relationship of this triple arch to the streets around the forum is a curious one. Extensive excavations in the region have revealed a complex series of foundations, paving and alignments, which we can summarise here.⁴⁰¹ Immediately west of the foundations of the arch were two rectangular pits lined with travertine. These pits may have defined the eastern limit of the forum, parallel to the Republican street, and similar examples are located further beneath the *aedes Divi Iuli* (see below).⁴⁰² Therefore, although the arch channels an east-west street into the forum, it stands above an earlier north-south street that evidently ran from between the *aedes Castoris* and the *lacus Iuturnae* – where remains are embedded in the later structure – and continued under the *aedes Divi Iuli*.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ Coarelli 2008: 79-80.

⁴⁰⁰ Platner and Ashby's 1929: 34-5 figures are slightly different, with 2.55m and 4.05m.

⁴⁰¹ For more detail than is possible here on the different excavations, which often propose considerably varied interpretations of this space, see the brilliant synthesis by Carnabuci 1991.

⁴⁰² See Carnabuci 1991: 272 on these pozzi "rituali", which Boni (manuscript n.52, Carnabuci 1991: 264) described as pozzi "augurali".

⁴⁰³ See Carnabuci 1991: 296-307, fig. 18; 295 on blocks of cappellaccio paving dated to 5th century B.C., near the *lacus Iuturnae*, which most likely belonged to the same street.

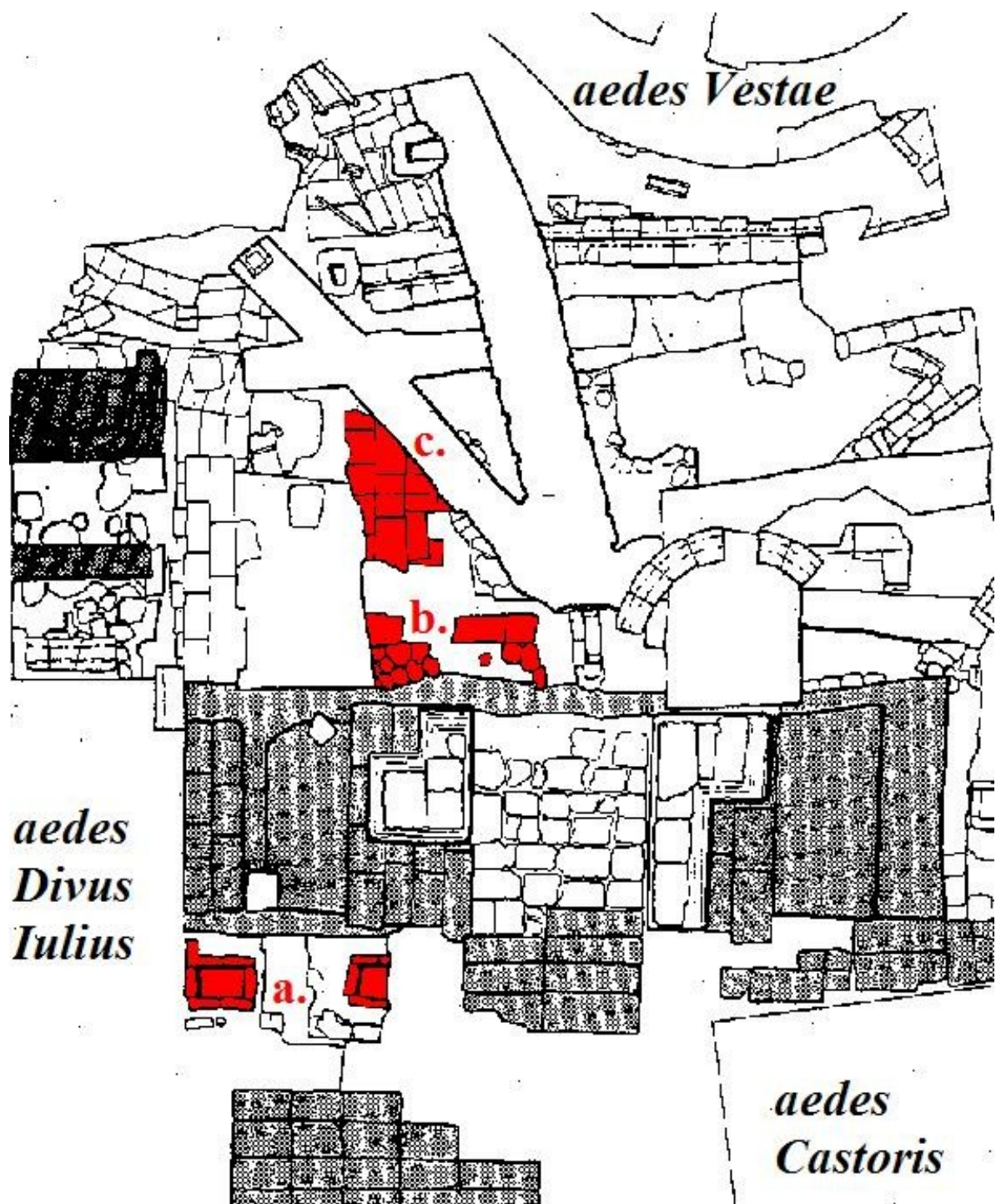


Figure 29 Plan of the remains around the *Arcus Augusti* showing earlier spaces: a) two “pozzi augurali” west of an earlier street; b) the earlier basalt street with tufa curb; c) paved area east of the earlier street (adapted from Carnabuci 1991: fig. 35).

This street was ca. 6-7m wide. In the third century B.C., this street was paved in basalt and given a distinct curb of Monteverde tufa.⁴⁰⁴ Thereafter, all identifiable changes in this area are east of the curb – that is, east of and not intruding on the street – until the construction of the *Arcus Augusti* in the late-first century B.C. (fig. 29). The street was covered by the foundations of the arch, the pits that defined the western edge of the street were covered by the new paving, and the sewers in the area were redirected.

On movement east of the arch we can add that the *vicus Vestae*, between the *aedes Vestae* and the *Regia*, had a Republican tufa well in the middle of the carriageway, which would have made it an unlikely place for large volumes of movement, being particularly intrusive to vehicle traffic (fig. 31.i).⁴⁰⁵ In addition to this well, the outer face of the precinct wall of the *aedes Vestae*, facing the street, had holes cut in it.⁴⁰⁶ These may have been for the erection of a barrier of some kind.⁴⁰⁷ The *vicus Vestae* was not suitable for vehicle traffic, the passage between the *aedes Divi Iuli* and the *Regia* had four broad stairs at the north (fig. 31.ii), and since the approach from the Palatine was also by steps, the area around the *Arcus Augusti* was essentially a pedestrian space. This may explain the exuberant use of travertine, which to this day bears no sign of vehicle wear (fig. 30a). This travertine paving continued across the front of the *aedes Castoris*, before stopping at the point where vehicles might move across from the *vicus Tuscus* to the north of the forum, or vice versa. At this point basalt was

⁴⁰⁴ Carnabuci 1991: 339, fig. 32 and fig. 18 for its course. The curb was 20cm high and 70cm wide, Van Deman 1922: 12.

⁴⁰⁵ Burton Brown 1904: 63-4 speculated that this well may be a *fulguritum* – a place hit by lightning, and thus a *locus religiosus* (Fest. 82L). The *lacus Curtius*, discussed in more detail below, was enclosed by order of the Senate for similar reasons.

⁴⁰⁶ Burton Brown 1904: 36.

⁴⁰⁷ On the enclosure of at least part of the sanctuary, the inner shrine of which was not allowed to be seen by the public, see Fest. 296L [...] in aede Vestae tegetibus saeptus; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.66.3-6.

used, and the area is deeply marked with wheel ruts (fig. 30b).⁴⁰⁸ In addition to this, the steps which ran alongside the *Sacra via* beside the *Regia* continued across the front of the *aedes Divi Iuli* and across the front of the *Arcus Augusti* (fig. 31iii). This has the effect of marking a separation of the entire complex from the forum to the west and the *Sacra via* to the north (the area of which can be seen in fig. 31). The pedestrianisation of this area may also explain why the southern passage of the arch was blocked by the podium of the *aedes Castoris*: simply, unlike the lateral arches at city gates, it was not necessary for the strict division of pedestrians and vehicles.



Figure 30 Comparison between the paving between the *Arcus Augusti* (travertine, for pedestrians) and in front of the *aedes Divi Iuli* (basalt, for vehicles). (Photos = author).

The *Arcus Augusti* was not simply added across an existing street. Its construction, and that of the near contemporaneous *aedes Divi Iuli*, involved a reorientation of an earlier street network at the east of the forum. This was no doubt linked to the redefinition of the forum edge when

⁴⁰⁸ See Nielsen 1990. That the earlier street was also paved with basalt and had a distinct curb separating the carriageway and the sidewalk suggests it was for vehicles, although there is no evidence of wheel ruts on the small sample that was excavated.

the temple was constructed west of the traditionally perceived boundary – the *Regia* (see below).

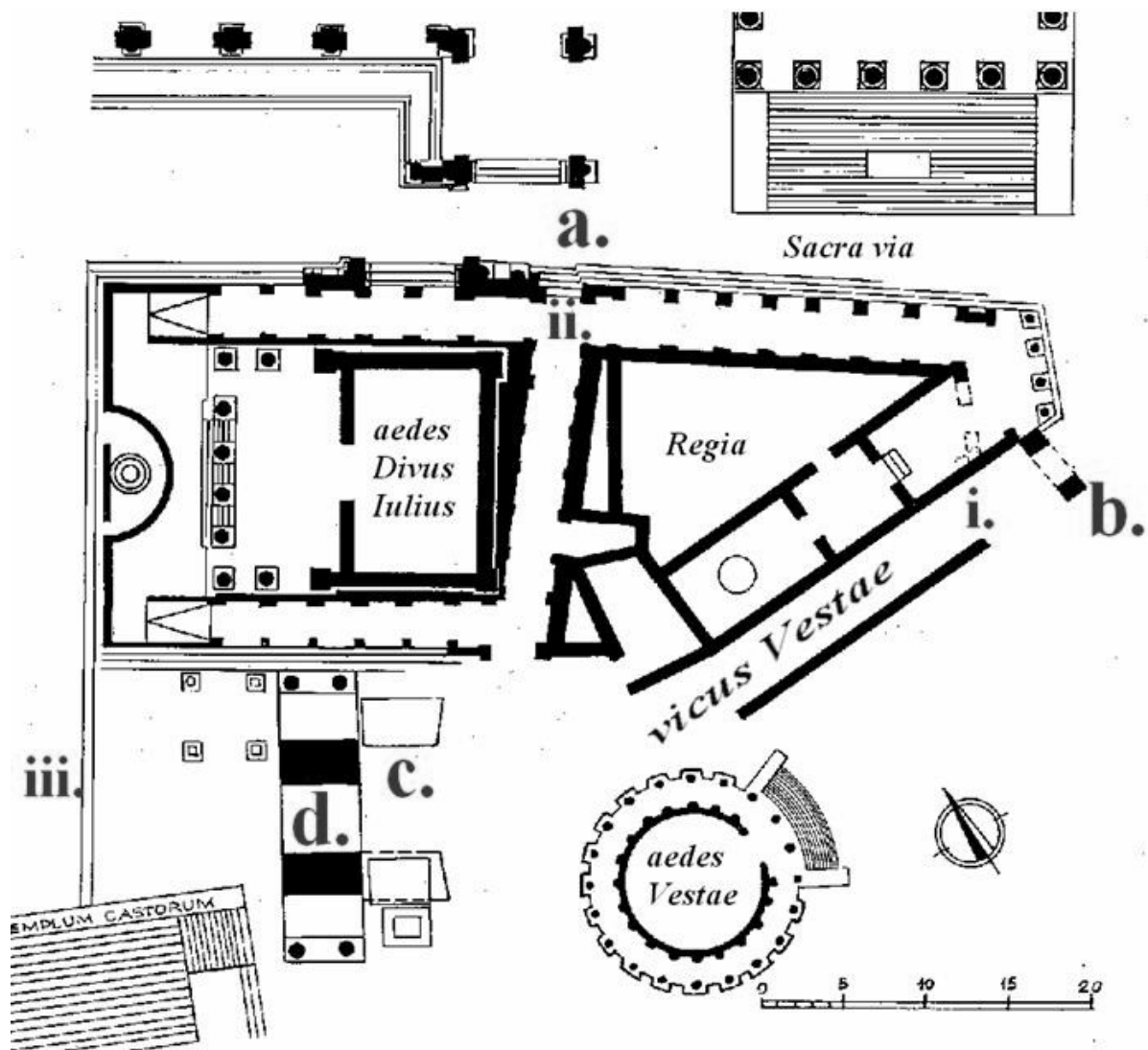


Figure 31 The area at the east of the forum which was closed to vehicle traffic: a.) Van Deman's location of the *fornix Fabianus* and Coarelli's Parthian Arch of Augustus; b.) Gamberini Mongenet's location of the *fornix Fabianus*; c.) Gamberini Mongenet's location of the single *Arcus Augusti*, 29 B.C.; d.) Excavated location of the triple *Arcus Augusti*; i.) tufa well in *vicus Vestae*; ii.) Steps from area to/from *Sacra via*; iii.) Continuous step.

Therefore, we are not looking at a response to patterns of movement, as we might infer for the *fornix Fabianus*. Instead we are looking at the design of a new space which modifies movement as part of a larger scheme. This had the effect of redefining movement around the forum by eliminating a north-south street and instead focusing the eastern end as a place of

entry and exit, not as a cross-axis. We can indicate a redefinition and imposition of architecturally-defined control over movement at the east of the forum, the emergence of distinct pedestrian and vehicular areas in external public space.

3.3.2.3 The *Vicus Iugarius* and *Arcus Tiberii*



Figure 32 Detail of a relief from the Arch of Constantine showing the *Basilica Iulia* (left) and the *Arcus Tiberii* over the *vicus Iugarius*.

In A.D. 16 an arch was erected in honour of Tiberius, near the *aedes Saturni*, spanning the *vicus Iugarius*.⁴⁰⁹ This can be seen in a relief on the Arch of Constantine, which shows a

⁴⁰⁹ Tac. *Ann.*, 2.4.1, arcum propter aedem Saturni. However, some reconstructions erroneously locate it on the street that runs along the *Basilica Iulia*, at the northwest corner of the building, see Coarelli 1985: fig. 47.

gathering in the forum (fig. 32). The left of the image is occupied by the *Basilica Iulia*, and beside it a single arch with Corinthian columns, spanning where the *vicus Iugarius* would be – *propter aedem Saturni*. If the scale of the relief is accurate then the arch rose to a height level with the architrave above the first floor of the basilica. As noted above, we know that certain processions made their way to the forum from the *porta Carmentalis* by the *vicus Iugarius*. The arch therefore marked the entry to the forum on such journeys, after which they would stop before moving across the *Basilica Iulia* and exiting again by the *vicus Tuscus*.

Concrete foundations, between the basilica and the temple, confirm that this was a single arch. The eastern foundation was parallel with the western edge of the *Basilica Iulia* and built into the steps of the building so as not to occupy any of the carriage-way of the street.⁴¹⁰ By building the eastern brick podium into the basilica, the impact of the arch on the street was considerably reduced. The western foundation, against the *aedes Saturni*, was modified so that it masked the oblique angle of the temple podium; being wider at the south than at the north. This would mask the misalignment to anyone approaching the forum from the *vicus Iugarius*.

I would argue that in the *Arcus Tiberii* we can see several overlapping issues related to movement, balancing idealism with practicality. To begin with, there was the desire to mark an important junction with the forum with an arch. It should go without saying that this required a conscious decision over location, particularly when there were six alternative entrances to choose from that were without arches in A.D. 16. The choice of the *vicus Iugarius* can be related to the processions that used the street as an entrance to the forum, and its long-term importance as a connective route in the city. However, this was mediated by practicality, visible in two related realities of the construction: first, the eastern pier was built

⁴¹⁰ The relief on the Arch of Constantine depicts them as two separate structures. This may be for greater distinction, or might accurately represent that the *Arcus Tiberii* was built from the second pier back on the western edge, and so there may have appeared to be a gap at the northwest corner of the basilica (see Coarelli 1985: fig. 1).

in the existing space of the *Basilica Iulia*, thus freeing up some width in the street; second, the western pier was modified to avoid following the same angle as the podium of the *aedes Saturni*. As the angle of the podium already narrowed the street at its juncture with the forum, building both piers in the street, to the same width, would have considerably inconvenienced traffic at this point (narrowing the street to nearly half its original width, from ca. 5m to less than 3). If we consider that such traffic may have been processional in nature, this may have been an even greater concern. The *Arcus Tiberii* reveals the relationship between design mentalities in the Forum Romanum: balancing monumentality against the pragmatism of its role as an important urban node, concentrating high volumes of movement in the early first century A.D. (fig. 33).

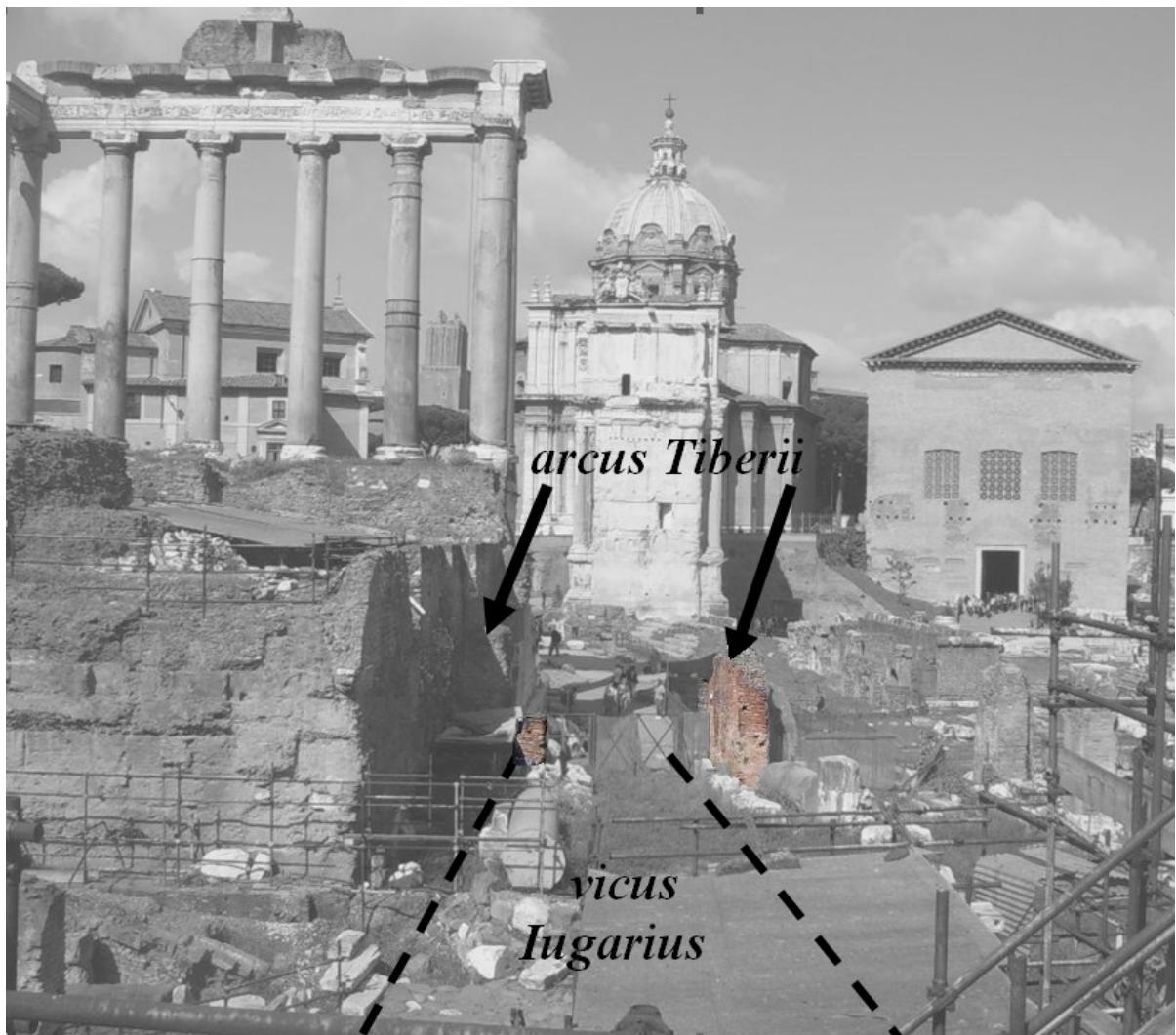


Figure 33 View looking north showing location of *Arcus Tiberii*, between the *aedes Saturni* (left) and *Basilica Iulia* (right), at the entry of the *vicus Iugarius* to the forum. (Photo and edits = author).

What can we say about movement to the Forum Romanum on the basis of the three arches erected there by the early first century A.D.? We can see three different approaches to the location and construction of arches, although each is influenced by movement in a particular way. The *fornix Fabianus* was erected as an honorific, self-aggrandizing monument and was located at what is arguably the most significant point of entry to the Forum Romanum. That this was the first choice location cannot be ignored. The *Arcus Augusti* was erected within the context of modified space: its placement, paving and relationship with the earlier basalt, vehicular streets saw to the complete transformation of the Republican space into a new and specifically pedestrian area at the east of the forum. The *Arcus Tiberii* was, rather like the *fornix Fabianus*, erected on a route that was used by a particular type of traffic – in this case, processions – and it was constructed in such a way that it minimally interfered with the usability of that route for vehicles.

The chronology of changes around the forum reveals a simple but noteworthy point: arches precede the blocking of streets. It is not until the late first century A.D. that streets into the forum come to be blocked (both on the north side, both blocked in the context of the development of the imperial fora). Arches modify space in a way that is more concessionary and responsive to existing patterns of use. The *fornix Fabianus* and the *Arcus Tiberii* both attest to this: spanning the road but not hindering traffic there, although Cicero does give the impression that the arch over the *Sacra via* may have caused something of a bottleneck. The *Arcus Augusti*, on the other hand, was placed at a location that seems traditionally to have been a busy pedestrian space (see Chapter 2 on the *locus celeberrimus* of the *aedes Castoris*, and below on the *aedes Divi Iuli*), and appears to have reinforced this by acting as a key part in the reconfiguration of a new, Julio-Claudian eastern end to the forum.

This is not new and Julio-Claudian only in the sense that the monuments there honoured the new dynasty; it creates a new pattern of movement and traffic. The significance

of this will become clear when we discuss other restrictions on movement that developed at around the same time, and which informed not only the modification of the Forum Romanum but also the design of the imperial fora. We can now consider restrictions on movement when, having moved to the forum and passed through a transitional space, it arrived in the central area. Again, while there are earlier candidates, the picture is of increasing restriction over time, from temporary and loosely defined limits on movement in the Republic, to architectural definition in the Principate. These changes to how movement and accessibility were managed helps to contextualise the ways in which the imperial fora related to the city at large.

3.4 RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT IN THE FORUM ROMANUM

The through movement potential of the Forum Romanum, quite apart from the political and religious significance and its propensity for the staging of events, will have contributed to a great concentration of people within it.⁴¹¹ Something must be said of the crowds in the forum, since it is this that arguably would provoke any restrictions on movement that we will consider throughout this section.

Calculations of how busy the Forum Romanum *could* be are useful but are arguably misleading for understanding routine patterns of use. They are based on estimates of how many people could crowd into a specific space, like sardines in a tin can, with little proxemic interpretation – that is, how people interact with other bodies in space – nor with how extraordinary were the circumstances of those assemblies.⁴¹² Briefly, for legislative

⁴¹¹ Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.49 on the ‘frementi foro’; Prop. 4.1.35 on the noise of the forum; Asc. *Mil.* 41 implies that the forum could never be silent, a characteristic related no doubt to its public function and intensity of movement and interaction there (tantum silentium toto foro fuit quantum esse in aliquo foro posset).

⁴¹² For proxemics analysis of spatial relationships, which distinguishes between different distances (personal distance, social distance, public distance), see Hall 1966 and, with reference to Roman archaeology, Grahame 2000. Corbeill 2003: 199 discusses interaction in the forum in similar terms.

assemblies in the forum *area* after 145 B.C., estimates range from between 6,000 to 10,000 attendees of assemblies and 15-20,000 for less managed crowds.⁴¹³

Although there are problems with estimates of this kind, it can at least be said that a characteristic of the Forum Romanum was the concentration of people in space. This is a by-product of both the natural movement and through movement potential discussed above. In addition to pedestrians using this space we must also consider vehicles. It is likely that vehicles did use the routes through the forum in the first century A.D. That said, there is limited evidence to support this aspect of traffic and we should not overstate it or assume it to be a persistent feature of the space: Plutarch's discussion of wagons in the forum in the late-first century is related to construction;⁴¹⁴ Horace's remark that a funeral cortege of 200 *plaustra* could not drown out the noise of Novius' litigation is rhetorical, not descriptive;⁴¹⁵ and descriptions of Tullia riding on her *carpentum* back to the Esquiline from the forum does not allow us to ascertain whether *carpenta* were routinely within the space.⁴¹⁶ References to vehicles *in foro* are rare when compared with descriptions of pedestrians.⁴¹⁷ Important in the distinction between vehicles and pedestrians is the noticeable articulation of the forum space into different elements, with the central *area* surrounded by streets paved in *selce*.⁴¹⁸ This point will be discussed in Chapter 6, where we consider the paving of fora in more detail. However, it is important to begin this discussion with awareness that when we talk of the

⁴¹³ See discussion in Morstein-Marx 2004: 18-37; MacMullen 1980: 456 (15-20,000 in crowds); Thommen 1995: 364 (6,000 in assembly); Mouritsen 2001: 21-3 (maximum 10,000 in assembly). The *Saepta*, to where voting was relocated in the late-first century B.C., could accommodate many more people (Mouritsen 2001: 30 = 30,000; MacMullen 1980: 454 = 55,000).

⁴¹⁴ Plut. *Galb.* 8.5.

⁴¹⁵ Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.42-3.

⁴¹⁶ Livy 1.48; Var. *LL* 5.159; Ov. *F.* 6.609 on Tullia's *carpentum*. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.39.4 alone adds that the street was very narrow and this panicked the horses that were pulling the carriage.

⁴¹⁷ But see Suet. *Claud.*, 44, on vehicles moving to the forum and *Curia Iulia*.

⁴¹⁸ Often replacing earlier cappellaccio paving, with noticeably different orientations and alignments. See Van Deman 1922: 12 for details.

space of ‘the forum’, this is a space with differently articulated elements, distinguished by the physical separation between paving or the use of crepidines to create variations in height.

We can begin an examination of restrictions by excluding a possible candidate for archaic regulations on movement: the boustrophedon inscription discovered at the *Volcanal*.⁴¹⁹ Most scholars acknowledge that the evidence is too fragmentary to reconstruct a plausible decree.⁴²⁰ However, Dudley ‘amplified’ and translated the text to include the following: “And whatsoever persons the King shall discover passing on this road, let him bid the Herald seize the reins of their draught animals, to force them to turn aside forthwith and to take the approved detour. And whosoever shall fail to take the approved detour and shall persist in travelling this road, let him after due process of law be sold at auction to the highest bidder”.⁴²¹ Significant as such a decree would be for our present discussion, there is a great deal of guesswork here. I feel that for the credibility of the broader argument presented here, one must err on the side of caution and exclude this text, rather than risk basing a historical discussion on a corrupt and baseless precedent, and the hypothesis that restrictions on movement in the Forum Romanum were enforced *ab initio*. We can instead turn to evidence that does not require such suspension of disbelief, as Dudley’s translation surely does.

According to Pliny, in 184-3 B.C. Cato had called for the Forum Romanum to be paved in sharp *murex* stones.⁴²² The reason for this is not explicit in the text, although it purposely contrasts with the measures taken to cover the forum in awnings in order to make it more comfortable for those who were spending time in litigation. Scholars have therefore

⁴¹⁹ For the monumental context of the inscription, see Coarelli 1983: 138-78.

⁴²⁰ Cornell 1995: 94-5 and fig. 9.

⁴²¹ Dudley 1967: 89-91.

⁴²² Plin. *HN*. 19.24, quantum mutati a moribus Catonis censorii, qui sternendum quoque forum muricibus censuerat. Isid. *Orig.* 16.3.3 noted how *murex* stones were particularly sharp (*acutissimus*). It is not clear whether Cato actually did pave the forum, or simply advocated it. Pliny’s use of *censeo* allows for both ‘decreed’ (and, thus we might assume, it was done), and ‘recommended’ (which is not to say this it was done). Giuliani (1995: 343) reads *murex* as *ghiaia* – gravel.

inferred that Cato's paving would be to make the forum less comfortable and thus deter lingering in this space.⁴²³ Whether or not this was the intention, this anecdote speaks of Pliny's perception of how paving the forum in gravel might influence one's use of and movement within it; reflecting, perhaps, the sensibilities of one accustomed to walking on travertine.⁴²⁴ What concerns us for the purposes of this section is how this text reveals Cato's influence on movement and public space. Cato can only attempt to dissuade certain spatial activities; he can not directly prohibit them. This point is significant for measuring tolerances to changes to movement, and we will return to this broader issue later in this thesis. For the remainder of this section, we can discuss the possible candidates for the limitations and restrictions on movement in and around the forum.

The argument developed in detail here, and in the discussion of the imperial fora in particular, is based on changes to the infrastructures of movement – streets, gates, steps, ramps. These are physical changes, recoverable in archaeology, or in many cases through contemporary description (textual or visual), which show the transformation of spatial practice achieved through the transformation of built space. However, we cannot lose sight of those regulations on movement and accessibility that may not have been physically enforced. By their nature, these are harder to recover, and we rely solely on textual evidence to have recorded such restrictions for us. This is the case for Augustus' decree that no-one was

⁴²³ Stambaugh 1988: 111. On Cato's propensity to walk with bare feet, which would have informed his attitude to paving, see Plut. *Cato* 50, ὥστ' ἀλειψάμενος μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σφαιρίσαι, μετ' ὄριστον δὲ πάλιν ὥσπερ εἴθιστο καταβάς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων περιπατῆσαι μετὰ τῶν συνήθων; Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.

⁴²⁴ The forum was paved in travertine in the mid-70s B.C. by either C. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 75) or M. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 74) (Fest. 416L, including the removal of a statue of Stata Mater), and then again by L. Naevius Surdinus in 14 B.C. For which, see Giuliani & Verduchi (1980). Giuliani (1995: 343) notes that *collastravit* in Festus may be an error from 'Sulla stravit' or 'Cotta stravit'. On Pliny's propensity to be carried everywhere in a litter, however, see Plin. *Ep.* 3.5, 15-6, qua ex causa Romae quoque sella vehebatur. Repeto me correptum ab eo, cur ambulare: 'poteras' inquit 'has horas non perdere'; nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur, quod studiis non impenderetur.

allowed to linger in the forum, or the spaces around it, if not wearing a toga without a cloak; a decree to be enforced by the *aedile*.⁴²⁵ Suetonius' use of *consistere* reveals a spatial concession to movement, in that people so attired could not stop there, but could continue to move through.⁴²⁶ We are not told how such a decree worked in practice, but in the only other occurrence relating to the control of the use of space by others, Suetonius adds that this was enforced *per militem*.⁴²⁷ Like the descriptions of the forum in Plautus, Augustus' decree would produce a space with different kinetic rhythms: different people moving through space at different speeds.⁴²⁸ Such behaviours of movement are not, however, recoverable in archaeology.⁴²⁹

Regulations of this kind demonstrate that controls on movement in public space need not be enforced through architecture. However, Augustus' decree requires the participation of other parties in that cultural *habitus*: the *togati*, to dress in the manner (now) appropriate for their spatial activities, or the *aedile*, to enforce this decree in instances of transgression.⁴³⁰ Architectural control, however, requires no complicity from its users. It shapes (and constrains) possibilities of use. So, for example, to ensure that wagons do not pass through a certain space, a physical barrier making it inaccessible to wagons is a more direct, effective and

⁴²⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 40.5, *negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro circave nisi positus lacernis togatum consistere*.

⁴²⁶ Rolfe's Loeb translation of "to appear in the Forum" obscures the distinction between motion and motionlessness. Suetonius' other uses of *consistere* all relate to a lack of movement: *Tib.* 18.1 on stopping by the Rhine and not crossing (*non transmisit*); *Tib.* 64, on not allowing people to stop as his familial litter passed by; *Cal.* 22.2, on standing between the statues of Castor and Pollux; *Cal.* 53.1, on being unable to stand still; *Cal.* 57.3, on standing in heaven besides Jupiter.

⁴²⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 64, *prohibitis per militem obuiis ac uiatoribus respicere usquam uel consistere*.

⁴²⁸ Plaut. *Curc.* 475, *in foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant*.

⁴²⁹ The same can be said of cultural customs that dictated how people should move in relation to one another, e.g. when Gracchus condemned C. Veterius to death because he was the only one of the crowd who would not make way for a tribune passing in the forum (Plut. *C. Gracch.*, 3.3).

⁴³⁰ On the *habitus* of the toga, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 38-57, esp: 41-6); Edmondson (2008: 23).

(in theory) permanent manner of controlling space than would be the passing of a decree to prohibit wagons from using that space.

In the remainder of this section, I examine the possible means by which movement to and through the Forum Romanum was controlled. We have already seen the way the forum was connected with the wider city. Now it is important to ask what happened to movement when it got there. Controls could be permanent or temporary, official or unauthorised, and could relate to movement to the forum or movement within it. The purpose of this section is to show that while the forum, as a large urban space, was not suitable for tight physical constraints on movement to it or through it (and indeed, the perception of the forum as a place of through movement, discussed earlier in this chapter, argues against that), there are numerous examples of changes to movement that demand consideration. These changes, when set in their proper chronological context allow us to see the emergence of a cultural habit of controlling spatial practice. It is this habit, I contend, that underpins the emergence of the imperial fora and the spatial logic they assume.

3.4.1 *Saepta iugera forensia*

Describing the transfer of popular assembly from the *Comitium* to the forum by C. Licinius Crassus, Varro referred to the *septem iugera forensia*.⁴³¹ It has been noted that the *area* of the Forum Romanum does not fit this description, which was nearer to 1.5 *iugera*.⁴³² Coarelli revived the emendation of *septem* to *saepta*, implying an enclosed space, with distinct boundaries.⁴³³ We can briefly consider the issue here as it relates to movement and access to the space of the forum.

⁴³¹ Var. *Rus.* 1.2.9.

⁴³² Summarised in Purcell 1995a (from Giuliani & Verduchi 1987: 33-9).

⁴³³ Coarelli 1985: 130 and n.24.

According to Cassius Dio, in A.D. 66 Nero exhibited Tiridates in the Forum Romanum, which was full with an expectant crowd. Nero's soldiers channelled Tiridates' movement through the forum by positioning themselves in parallel lines, forming a path to the *Rostra*. Dio adds that the forum was full, and that the centre was occupied by "civilians arranged according to rank".⁴³⁴ A further detail is that the forum had been prepared the previous night, and that a special approach to the *Rostra* had been constructed expressly for this occasion.⁴³⁵ This is evidently the forum redressed for a specific occasion, but what of the control of civilian partition identified in the *area*? How might this have been achieved, and what importance might it have for how we understand movement in the forum more broadly?

It has been suggested that small pits around the forum at Cosa served the utilitarian purpose of anchoring ropes, used to divide the open space into smaller segments in order to manage the crowd that assembled there for voting.⁴³⁶ Similar small pits have been found at various locations around the Forum Romanum, some clearly aligned, dating from the second century B.C. (fig. 34), though it is clear that they are not all from the same period. Ropes around the Forum Romanum are known on an *ad hoc* basis from antiquity, more on which below, and Welch has recently interpreted them as anchoring points for ropes attached to the temporary structures erected for gladiatorial games *in foro*.⁴³⁷ Taking a different interpretation, Coarelli argued that the pits represented the ritual demarcation of space, thus

⁴³⁴ Cass. Dio 63.4.2 μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἐπεπλήρωτο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος λευχειμονῶν καὶ δαφνηφορῶν κατὰ τέλη εἶχε. Suet. *Nero* 13 refers to the crowd as the *multitudini*, rather than the usual *turba*.

⁴³⁵ Cass. Dio 63.5.4. Suet. *Nero* 13 refers to this as a 'sloping platform' (devexum pulpitum).

⁴³⁶ Brown 1980: fig. 37.

⁴³⁷ Welch 2007: 36-8. Plut. *C. Gracch.*, 12.3-4 says that Gaius Gracchus allowed the games to be viewed for free and had hired seats removed from round the forum, which implies that in normal circumstances there was management of access for the purpose of revenue. Indeed, Vitruvius (5.1.2) says access to the colonnades should be properly managed precisely for this purpose.

explaining the notional ‘*saepta iugera*’.⁴³⁸ However, the interpretations of ritual and practicality are not exclusive, since while serving to ritually demarcate the space of the forum, they also served as the basis for partitions in assemblies of the *comitia tributa*. Relevant to movement from the *Comitium*, a distinct line of nine pozzetti ran in front of the Republican *Rostra*, and indeed gives the impression of a separation between the northwest (*Comitium*) and the southeast (forum *area*).⁴³⁹ Other pozzetti appear in similar ‘boundary’ locations: beneath the street along the *Basilica Iulia* (fig. 34), by the *aedes Divi Iuli* and just west of the *Arcus Augusti*, where as we have seen there had formerly ran a street, defining the eastern edge of the piazza.⁴⁴⁰

But what, if anything, was the relevance of these pits for movement in and through the forum? It has been suggested that by the late Republic the forum was “enclosed” by such pozzetti (or rather, by whatever structures were fixed within them).⁴⁴¹ However, it is clear that any practical function was removed when the forum was repaved, since most of the pozzetti were covered by travertine slabs in the Augustan period. At this time, games were no longer presented in the forum and voting had been moved to the *Saepta* in the *Campus Martius*. The lack of practical necessity for the pits may explain their removal. However, the theory that they marked inaugurated space need not be abandoned, even if they were covered over and were therefore useless in marking the limits in any real sense. Coarelli’s reading of the pozzetti in the Forum Romanum was influenced by Torelli’s interpretation of a *templum augurale* at the Etruscan city of Bantia.⁴⁴² This *templum* may have influenced the deposition of *cippi* around the street network of Marzabotto, which were buried beneath the roadways

⁴³⁸ Coarelli 1985: 125-31. The issue of such pits has been revived in a lively debate between Mouritsen (2004) and Coarelli (2005), the former arguing that pits across Republican fora are too heterogeneous to be interpreted for a single purpose.

⁴³⁹ Van Deman 1922: fig. 1. A more detailed plan of their location has not been produced.

⁴⁴⁰ Lugli 1946: 81-2; Coarelli 1985: 130; Carnabuci 1991: 264, n.52 and 339, fig. 32.

⁴⁴¹ Platner and Ashby 1929: 233, n.4.

⁴⁴² Coarelli 1985: 126, n.7.

they consecrated.⁴⁴³ This guaranteed their permanence and immovability, but also suppressed the demarcation of ritual space to, literally, below the physical space in which people moved and interacted. We can therefore consider the pits in the Forum Romanum in a similar vein: they demarcated the space of the forum without enclosing it. While they perhaps served the practical function of allowing for the partitioning of space, the pozzetti did not form the basis for any physical enclosure of the forum and we should not view them as routine barriers to movement to or through this space. This is clear from their suppression by later roadways (fig. 34). If they did not limit movement in any practical sense, what other restrictions might there have been?

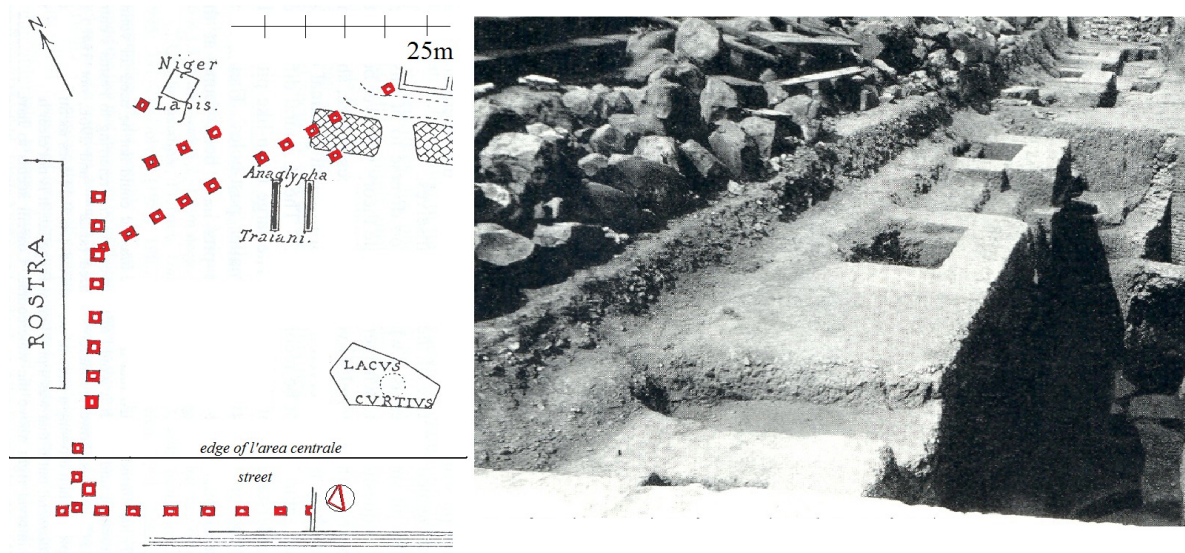


Figure 34 Left: plan of the pits in the western part of the Forum Romanum, adapted from Hülsen (1905) to exclude structures later than the third century A.D. Right: view looking west in front of the *Basilica Julia* showing the row of pozzetti beneath the street. (adapted from Nash 1968: fig. 264).

⁴⁴³ Gottarelli 2003: 142-4. The significance of Bantia's *auguraculum* for Rome has been discussed by Ziolkowski 1993: 214.

3.4.2 Permanent and temporary barriers to movement

In 57/6 B.C., Cicero described the applause as Publius Sestius made his way from the *columna Maenia* into the crowd assembled for gladiatorial games in honour of Q. Metellus Pius.⁴⁴⁴ Cicero gives specific detail on the origin of applause within or, as the case may be, at the edge of the forum – *ex fori cancellis*. The notion of a *cancellus* as a physical barrier is clear from other sources.⁴⁴⁵ Perhaps the most obvious examples from Rome are the *cancelli* of the Circus Maximus, which closed the *carceres* from where the horses started races; they acted to prevent movement until they were opened (fig. 35).⁴⁴⁶

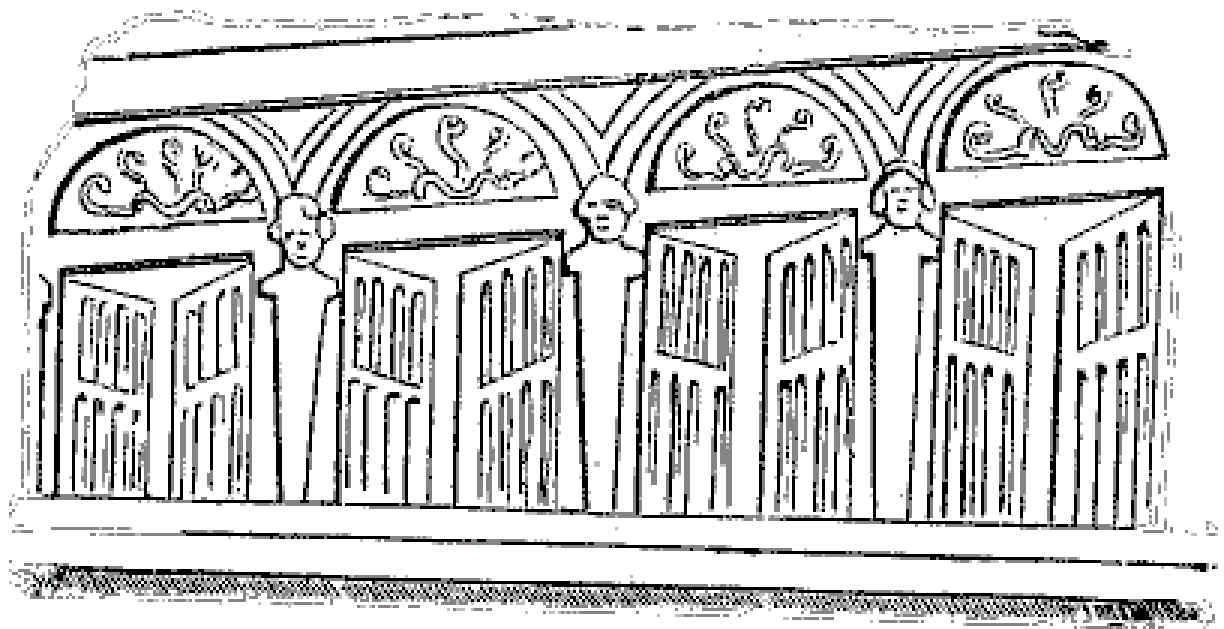


Figure 35 *Cancelli* from a depiction of a Roman circus (marble relief, British Museum).

⁴⁴⁴ Cic. *Sest.* 124, venit, ut scitis, a columna Maenia. Tantus est ex omnibus spectaculis usque a Capitolio, tantus ex fori cancellis plausus excitatus, ut numquam maior consensus aut apertior populi Romani universi fuisse in causa diceretur.

⁴⁴⁵ For example, Amm. Marc. 30.4.19 on the permeable *cancelli* of the *Saepta (Julia)* – a space that by its very name was considered an enclosure (cumque intra cancellorum venerint saepta).

⁴⁴⁶ Descriptions of them clearly reveal their role in closing space, e.g. claustra: Stat. *Theb.* 6.399; Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.9. fauces: Cassiodor. *Var.* 3.51. fores carceris: Ov. *Tr.* 5.9.29. Var. *Rus.* 3.5.4 discusses the design of particular fencing, described as being like that of the barriers between the stage and the theatre. The role of the *cancellarius* – gate-keeper – of the Campus Boarius is known from an inscription, *CIL* VI 9226.

Cicero is alone in referring to such structure(s) in or around the Forum Romanum. There is no precise identification of where these *cancelli* may have been – all around the forum or at a specific location - or whether they were a permanent feature or were simply there in the context of the performance that was occurring. Permanent or not, Cicero is certainly referring to physical barriers, rather than barriers in the metaphorical sense.⁴⁴⁷ The detail that Sestius came from the *columna Maenia* provides further topographical context to a description rooted in physical space.

If the barriers were a permanent feature we need to look for them in the context of the topography of the forum in 56 B.C., not an easy task given the changes to the area of the *Comitium* in the years following the burning of the *Curia Hostilia* in 52 B.C. (see Chapter 4). Still, some candidates might be offered. Coarelli suggested that at the western end of the forum, to where the *Rostra* would be relocated following Caesarian developments, was a terrace formed by the continuation of the path of the *vicus Iugarius*, which as we have seen entered the forum between the *aedes Saturni* and the (later) *Basilica Iulia*.⁴⁴⁸ This continued across the side of the forum, towards the *Comitium*. Between these two sites, where the *Sacra via* exited from the northern edge of the forum and beyond which it met the *clivus Argentarius* and the *clivus Capitolinus*, was Cicero's *cancellus*.⁴⁴⁹

In Cicero's description, Sestius had moved from the *columna Maenia*, and the applause rose up from the Capitoline and the barriers of the forum. This would suggest that the *cancelli* were in the northeast corner of the forum, near the column and in the space between the forum and the Capitoline. The *columna Maenia* was elsewhere considered by

⁴⁴⁷ For which, see Cic. *Quinct.* 36.

⁴⁴⁸ Coarelli 1983: 199, who considered this 'viadotto' to be the Porticus ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad Senaculum et super id Curiam of 174 B.C., discussed by Livy 41.27.4. Richardson 1980 rejects this identification.

⁴⁴⁹ Purcell 1993: 131.

Cicero to be a specific location, not one defined as being within the Forum Romanum.⁴⁵⁰ Indeed, a scholiast on *Pro Sestio* adds the detail that the column was not within the forum but in the *locus in vicinia fori*.⁴⁵¹ The notion that the column was a remnant from Maenius' house further indicates that it was outside of the forum: Maenius asked for one column to be salvaged so that from there he could watch the gladiatorial games in the forum *area*,⁴⁵² and Horace notes that it had a view of – but therefore was not in – the forum.⁴⁵³ Describing Cato's purchase of two atrium houses for the neighbouring *Basilica Porcia* in 184 B.C., Livy says that this was *in lautumiis* – in the region of the *Lautumiae*, the area beyond the northeast of the Forum Romanum.⁴⁵⁴

Cicero's text thus describes the space west of the terrace identified by Coarelli. Purcell notes that the monuments to the west of this spot were routinely considered as belonging to a separate topographical location to the forum: the *aedes Concordiae* (inter Capitolium et forum),⁴⁵⁵ the *Ara Saturni* (in imo Clivo Capitolino);⁴⁵⁶ the *aedis Saturni* (quod est ante clivum Capitolinum iuxta Concordia templum).⁴⁵⁷ This may imply not only their elevated position relative to the forum's *area*, but the possibility that they were outside of the Republican forum altogether, being to the west of the *cancelli*, as is the case for the *columna Maenia* and the *Basilica Porcia*, *in lautumiis*. Only after the redevelopment of this space in the late 50s or 40s B.C. was this zone brought into the forum: with the removal of the *cancelli* and the 'loosening' of the forum by Caesar.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁰ For example, Cic. *Div. Caec.* 50, ad columnam Maeniam.

⁴⁵¹ Schol. Bob. ad Cic. *Sest.* 18, [...] et iuxta Comitium.

⁴⁵² Ascon. ad Cic. *Div. Caec.* 50.

⁴⁵³ Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.21, domo sua, quam ad forum spectantem habuerat.

⁴⁵⁴ Livy 39.44.7.

⁴⁵⁵ Fest. 470L.

⁴⁵⁶ Fest. 430L.

⁴⁵⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 2.116. On these references, see Purcell (1993: 131-2).

⁴⁵⁸ This reading follows Purcell (1993) over how best to interpret the expansion and loosening of the Forum Romanum detailed in Cic. *Att.* 14.6. In this text, Cicero says nothing of the *cancelli*, but the

Throughout this discussion, we must remember that Cicero is describing a particular event at a particular time. That this event was the provision of gladiatorial games necessarily complicates matters, since the *cancelli* may have been nothing more than temporary barriers erected for the purposes of crowd control or to separate the spectator space from the makeshift arena floor.⁴⁵⁹ However, in *de Oratore*, written in the years before 55 B.C. and therefore broadly contemporary with the events described in *Pro Sestio*, Cicero makes another reference to the *forensibus cancellis*.⁴⁶⁰ The context is not *spectacula* but, seemingly, routine business in the forum. Indeed, later *cancelli* gave their name to legal scribes who worked within the forum, behind the *cancellus*.⁴⁶¹ This might imply that the *cancelli* of *Pro Sestio* were not temporary structures erected for a specific event. That said, without topographical context, this second reference is more difficult to locate and may be more suitably read as a reference to metaphorical barriers. At this point we can briefly review other forms of barriers that restricted movement to, within and out of the Forum Romanum.

The stationing of guards around the forum in order to limit access is in evidence in a number of sources, such as Asconius' commentary on Cicero and the stationing of Pompey's

phrase *usque ad atrium libertatis* does not demand it. Note also later descriptions of the *aedes Saturni* – formerly *in imo clivo Capitolino* – and the *Miliarium Aureum* as *in capite romani fori* (Plin. *HN*. 3.66).

⁴⁵⁹ That *cancelli* could be easily added or removed is later implied in the *Digest* (*Sab.* 30.41.10), on property that could be bequeathed in order to settle a debt. The code states that things cannot be bequeathed if it means they have to be detached from the building. *Cancelli* and awnings are excluded from this, because they are easy to recover (*Sed si cancelli sint vel vela, legari poterunt*). See also *Dig.* 33.7.12.26 in which *cancelli* are considered movable *instrumenta* rather than an integral part of the structure of the house.

⁴⁶⁰ *Cic. Or.* 1.52.

⁴⁶¹ In the sixth century A.D., Cassiodorus (*Var.* 11.6) provided the most detailed description of the duties and circumstances of the *cancellarius*, keeping inferiors in their proper place from behind the *cancelli* of his compartment (*latere non potest quod inter cancellos egeris*). Although the text is later than the direct concerns of this thesis, Cassiodorus implies that the role and its physical circumstances are much older (*vide quo te antiquitas voluerit collocari*).

guards “in the forum and all the approaches around it”.⁴⁶² Cicero himself vividly described the closure of the approaches to the forum:

First all the entrances to the forum were fenced off, with the result that, even if no armed guard stood in the way, nevertheless it was not possible in any way to enter into the forum unless the barricades were torn away; and there were indeed guards stationed around, so that, just as an enemy's access to a city is hindered by towers and fortifications, so too you would see the people and tribunes of the plebs pushed back from entry into the forum.⁴⁶³

Movement, or rather the restriction of movement, is given central importance here. An interesting semantic aside is that Cicero here uses *saepio* as a verb, rather than *cancelli* as a noun. This may support the idea that the *cancelli* of *Pro Sestio* are specific, physical objects. However, that Pompey stationed guards rather than simply closing the *cancelli* may support the argument that they were temporary fittings, in the context of *spectacula*.

Such examples include armed guards controlling movement, but given their power in numbers it was equally possible for the crowd to block access, either through the erection of barriers or by their own physical presence. When Dolabella, in 47 B.C., proposed some unfavourable laws regarding debts and property rents, the crowd are said to have “erected barriers around the forum, setting up wooden towers at some points”.⁴⁶⁴ As we saw in Chapter

⁴⁶² Asc. *Mil.* 41, praesidia in foro et circa omnis fori aditus Pompeius disposuit.

⁴⁶³ Cic. *Phil.* 5.4.9, Primum omnes fori aditus ita saepti ut, etiam si nemo obstaret armatus, tamen nisi saeptis revolsis introiri in forum nullo modo posset; sic vero erant disposita praesidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbe prohiberentur castellis et operibus, ita ab ingressione fori populum tribunosque plebi propulsari videres.

⁴⁶⁴ Cass. Dio. 42.32.3, ὥς οὖν τοῦτό τε προεπήγγελτο καὶ ὁ ὄχλος τά τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ἢ ξυλίνους ἐπικαταστήσας ἔτοιμος παντὶ τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο.

2, when Vitellius, in A.D. 69, tried to relinquish power at the *Rostra* and then return home, he found that every path out of the forum had been blocked (*interclusum aliud iter*), except for the *Sacra via*, and so he made his way back to the Palatine.⁴⁶⁵

As noted above, one speculated use for the pozzetti in the forum has been for the erection of partitions between voters. There are examples from Rome for this use. Barricading the forum through the use of a rope was not uncommon, and seems to be the quickest and easiest way in which people could take control of the space. Dionysius tells of a great gathering that occupied the forum, from which the tribunes summoned the relevant citizens after dividing them into tribes through the use of rope barriers.⁴⁶⁶ Appian records something similar in the late-Republic when the supporters of Antony had roped off the forum during the night, much to the surprise of the Senate.⁴⁶⁷ Octavian, we are told, stood by the rope during this time. Though it may seem trivial, we can note the increasing segregation of space under Augustus, and we might say that what started for temporary purposes in rope later became permanent in travertine. What we begin to see, and as further examples demonstrate below, is the emergence of an urban disposition that recognises the cultural and political significance of enclosing public space.

The *cancelli* mentioned by Cicero may have only been temporary features, erected for the specific event of gladiatorial games, and the need to station troops at all of the approaches to the forum might imply a space that was otherwise difficult to physically control: troops were needed because it was not possible to close ‘the gates’ of the forum. The number of

⁴⁶⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 3.68. See also the Flavians seizing the *Area Capitolina* in A.D. 69, and barricading themselves within by piling up statues at its entrances, Tac. *Hist.* 3.71, in ipso aditu vice muri obiecisset.

⁴⁶⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.59.1, χωρία τῆς ἀγορᾶς περισχοίνισαντες, ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον αἱ φυλαὶ στήσεσθαι καθ’ αὐτάς.

⁴⁶⁷ App. *Bell. Civ.* 3.30, ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὴν λοχίτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγῆσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοίνισάμενοι τὴν φυλῆτιν ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐληλυθυῖαν.

routes into this space, the very thing that defined its role in the wider city as a place of through movement, meant that erecting continuous barriers where streets entered the area was impractical.⁴⁶⁸ However, if there were not gates at every entrance to the Forum Romanum, there is evidence for gates at spaces within it, and reviewing these restrictions on accessibility offers a useful chronological perspective on movement and public space.

We can briefly consider two monuments in particular: the *aedes Divi Iuli* and the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*. The former dates to the mid-late first century B.C., when habits over the control of space were first emerging in architecture. The latter dates to the mid-second century A.D, when those habits were firmly entrenched in conceptions of movement and accessibility.

3.4.3 The *aedes Divi Iuli* and the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*

The examples above relate to the management of movement around the forum at large, but there were smaller scale restrictions that are worth considering. Several monuments in the Forum Romanum were fenced off from movement and were inaccessible. For instance, the *lacus Curtius* – *in medio foro* – was fenced off from the wider *area*.⁴⁶⁹ Varro says that the site was struck by lightning in 102 B.C., and was enclosed by a decree of the Senate.⁴⁷⁰ Coarelli has argued that the famous relief of Curtius' horse plunging into the *lacus* would have been part of the balustrade that fenced off the area from the wider forum.⁴⁷¹ Intriguingly, the outline of the Augustan *lacus* – that is, the irregular polygonal area of travertine paving

⁴⁶⁸ In any case, the basilicas may have been used for passage into the forum. On movement *through* the basilicas, see Plut. *Galb.* 26.3 on movement through the *Basilica Aemilia* (εἴτα ὁπλῖται διὰ τῆς Παύλου βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι) and Plin. *Ep.* 2.14: *si quando transibis per basilicam*.

⁴⁶⁹ On its location *in medio foro* see Livy 7.5, Plin. *HN.* 15.20, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, 11.42.6; 14.11.20-1; Val. Max. 5.6.1.

⁴⁷⁰ Var. *LL.* 5.150, ex S.C. septum esse. As suggested for the *vicus Vestae* (see above).

⁴⁷¹ Coarelli 1985: 126 and fig. 41.

(above earlier layers in cappellaccio and tufa) – occupies a space that fits precisely within the gaps between the late Republican galleries that run beneath the forum *area*. This may be because the galleries were designed so as to avoid the shrine, above, or it may be because the shape of the *lacus*, and thereby its enclosure, were post-Caesarian. Varro may place the decision to enclose the site at the end of the second century B.C., but the actual enclosure is arguably late Republican or Augustan. Also dating to the late Republic are coins showing the *sacrum Cloacinae* with a *cancellus*, the remains of which have been identified in the forum and which do indeed have gaps for the fitting of a metal gate (fig. 36).⁴⁷²



Figure 36 Remains and coin depiction of the *sacrum Cloacinae*. The depiction of a *cancellus* accords with the archaeological remains, containing holes for a balustrade.

These two monuments might suggest, following the evidence presented above on the enclosure of the forum, that the enclosure of individual sites within it was becoming increasingly common in the late Republic. Away from the Forum Romanum, Strabo notes how the Mausoleum of Augustus, on the Campus Martius, was surrounded by a circular iron

⁴⁷² The coins depicting the shrine date to 39 B.C. See Livy 3.48 on the location near the *Basilica Aemilia*. Nash 1968, I: 262-3 has images of both the coin and the marble remains. See also the enclosure of an *angiportum* halfway up the *clivus Capitolinus*, in which refuse from the *aedes Vestae* was deposited every 15th June and which was closed by a gate; Var. *LL*. 6.32; Fest. 466L, *Stercus ex aede Vestae XVII Kal. Iul. defertur in angiportum medium fere clivi Capitolini, qui locus clauditur porta stercoraria*.

fence.⁴⁷³ We can now consider two temples in detail to see if this trend can be identified: one from the late Republic and early Principate, the other from the mid-second century A.D.

The *aedes Divi Iuli* defined the eastern limit of the forum when it was constructed in the late-first century B.C., and it is an interesting example of the modification of space and spatial practice.⁴⁷⁴ It was constructed on the site where the people had cremated Caesar's body after his assassination.⁴⁷⁵ The temple is at an earlier location of particular significance; a *locus* of popular gathering, and is thus interesting in terms of movement and congregation in the forum. The location had accumulated numerous monuments in the late Republic: the equestrian statue of a toga-clad Q. Marcus Tremulus, who twice conquered the Samnites, was erected *ante aedem Castorum*, and Lucius Antonius had a similar honour in the same space.⁴⁷⁶ That these statues were equestrian implies a certain footprint that could not be accommodated on the podium of the temple itself, and so we might seek them in the lower space of the forum. In this area too a *Senatus Consultum* was erected in 159 B.C., and we will recall from the previous chapter that the area was a perceived *locus celeberrimus*.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ Strabo 5.3.8, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα.

⁴⁷⁴ On the *Regia* as the earlier limit, see Serv. *Aen.* 8.363, *Regiam [...]* in radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani fori esse; Coarelli 1983: 68.

⁴⁷⁵ There is no indication that the forum was blocked off when Caesar's body was brought there for cremation, but tangential evidence that barriers may have been routinely around the forum at the time (see discussion of *cancelli* above). Plut. *Caes.* 68.1 notes, in fact, that railings (κιγκλίδας) as well as benches and tables were removed from about the forum (he does not say specifically from where) and heaped onto the funeral pyre: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνοιχθεισῶν εὐρέθη δεδομένη Ῥωμαίων ἐκάστῳ δόσις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κομιζόμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐθεάσαντο ταῖς πληγαῖς διαλελωβημένον, οὐκέτι κόσμον εἶχεν οὐδὲ τάξιν αὐτῶν τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν νεκρῷ περισωρεῦσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς βάθρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζας.

⁴⁷⁶ Q. Marcus Tremulus: Plin. *HN.* 34.23-4, ante aedem Castorum; Livy 9.43.22, quae ante templum Castores posita est. Lucius Antonius: Cic. *Phil.* 6.13, in foro [...] ante Castoris.

⁴⁷⁷ *ILLRP* 512, sub aedem Castores. Florus 1.38.20-1 discusses the meeting of *iuvenes* and the praetor *pro aede Pollucis et Castores*.

The temple was constructed in the open space west of the *Regia*, and so to say that it was built between the continuation of the two streets that forked at the *Regia* itself (the *Sacra via* and the *vicus Vestae*) is not strictly accurate. However, the temple was defined by the continuation of the course of these streets into, and alongside, the central area of the forum, and it thus defined the two eastern entrances into the forum from the late-first century B.C. The route of the *Corneta*, that ran beside the *Basilica Aemilia*, crossed the back of the temple and separated it from the *Regia*, although its course was evidently modified.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, as discussed already, an earlier north-south street lay beneath the temple. The temple was accessed from lateral ramps on either side, approached from the east rather than from the forum piazza.⁴⁷⁹ This may be due to the pressures on space and the inability to construct a flight of stairs around the altar or a *puteal* which was in the centre of the main axis. When considering the pressures on space it may be significant that initially only a column was erected in memory of Caesar.⁴⁸⁰ It was not until the completion of the temple under Augustus that the space was fundamentally altered. This presents a key theme, to be discussed in more detail in later chapters: while the public erect a column beside the road, the ruling power builds a temple over the road. This is linked to a hitherto neglected aspect of urban development: the balance of tolerance and acceptability in informing alterations to infrastructures of urban movement. The discussion of the imperial fora allow us to develop this theme in more detail than is suitable at this point in the thesis.

From Cassius Dio, we learn that when it was first built, the temple had the right of asylum.⁴⁸¹ Yet less has been said about what is arguably a more intriguing aspect of this right,

⁴⁷⁸ On the *Corneta*, discussed more in Chapter 4, see Var. *LL.* 5.152, inter Sacram viam et Macellum editum; Ps. Placidus, CGL IV 56, nunc ex parte magna templum Pacis occupavit.

⁴⁷⁹ Ov. *Pont.* 2.84 noted the temple's impressive verticality, perhaps the more striking because of the lack of a mediating approach.

⁴⁸⁰ The column was inscribed *Parenti Patriae* (Suet. *Iul.* 85) but was quickly removed by Dolabella (Cic. *Phil.* 1.5).

⁴⁸¹ Cass. Dio. 47.19.1-2.

that it was rescinded (Dio does not give a date for this but implies that it happened relatively quickly, as soon as men began to congregate there). Dio goes on to note that after men began to congregate in that region, the ‘right’ of asylum was revoked, existing in name but not in any practical, physical sense: “for it was so fenced about that no one could any longer enter it at all”.⁴⁸² Marruchi speculated that the front of the temple was separated from the forum by means of a marble barrier, and, writing in 1906, noted that “not far from here are still to be seen some remains of this”.⁴⁸³ Hadrianic coins depicting an *adlocutio* from the *Rostra aedis divi iulii* do not show any dividing barrier, nor does the section of the *Anaglypha Traiani* thought to depict the same space, though it is notable how in both images there is a distinct gap between the crowd and the *Rostra* (fig. 37). The Hadrianic coins do, however, show the kind of fencing on the temple podium that would also appear on images of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae* and in that instance denote a distinct and absolute separation between the street – the *Sacra via* – and the temple.

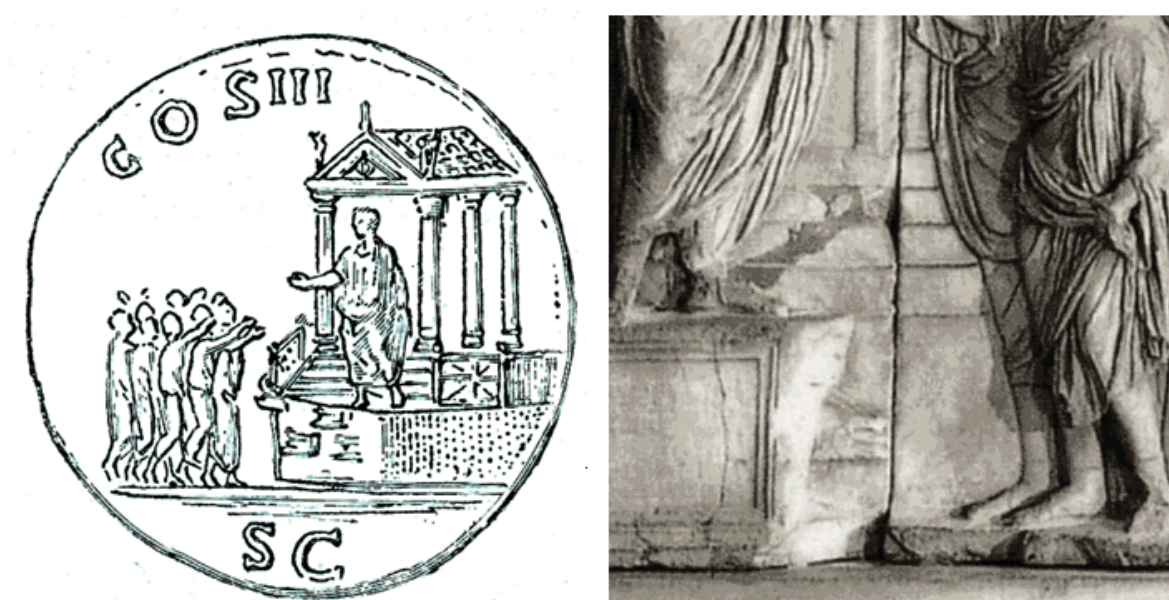


Figure 37 The *aedes Divi Iuli* and its *rostra* on a Hadrianic coin (A.D. 125-8) and the *Anaglypha Traiani*.

⁴⁸² Cass. Dio. 47.19.2, οὕτω γὰρ περιεφράχθη ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτὸ δυνηθῆναι.

⁴⁸³ Marucchi 1906: 83.

Dio is not clear on exactly *what* was fenced off - the altar and niche before the temple, or the temple itself. In either case, it was evidently a physical intervention, with a *terminus post quem* of 29 B.C. Thus the enclosure of the space and the denial of access can be dated to the Augustan period or after. This fits with our wider chronology for the alteration of space in the forum, and so we can identify an example of restrictions on movement that are built rather than simply decreed. We see the move from regulation by cultural *habitus* to regulation by architecture.

A more egregious example of this is the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*, constructed in the mid-second century A.D., in a period in which the emergent spatial habits identified here were well-established. The temple occupied a plot of land to the east of the forum, next to the *Basilica Aemilia* (from which it was separated by the then dead-end street of the *Corneta*) and across from the *Regia*. A passage in the *Historiae Augustae* describes it as being “at the foot of the Palatine, that is in front of the *Sacra via*, between Vesta and the temple of Faustina, by the arch of Fabius”.⁴⁸⁴ Recalling above the traditional designation of the *Regia* as the eastern limit of the forum, and the *fornix Fabianus* as marking the entrance to it, the temple might reasonably be said to be outside of the forum proper. Still, it is intimately linked to movement in this area. Because of this, depictions of the temple on second century coins are a useful way of reconstructing not only the temple’s form but its relationship with the street that passed in front of it (fig. 38).

⁴⁸⁴ *Hist. Aug. Gall.* 19.4, fuit denique hactenus statua in pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante sacram viam, inter templum Faustinae ac Vestam ad arcum Fabianum.

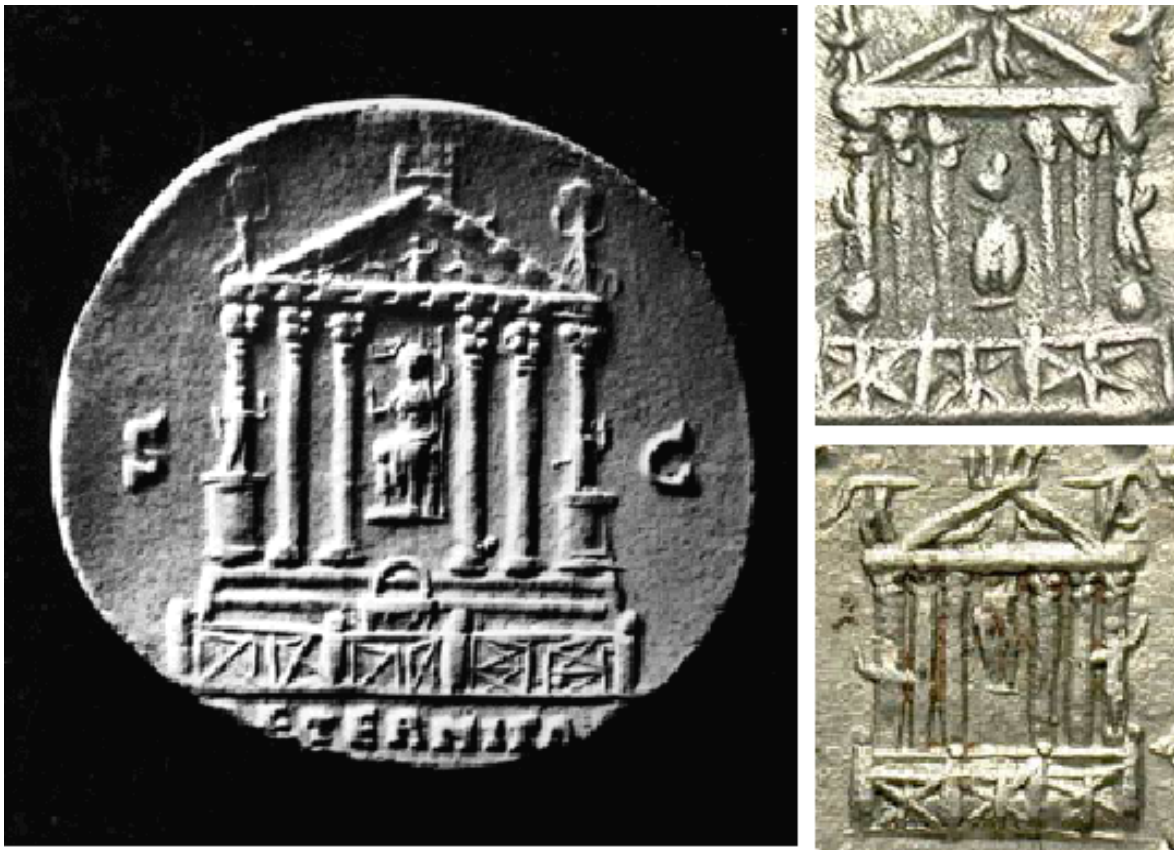


Figure 38 Coins depicting the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*, showing closed *cancelli*.

Coins dating to when the temple was built depict not only the temple, its statuary and the altar in the stairs, but also a continuous fence across the front. We can compare this to the representation of the *aedes Divi Iuli*, in which the gates are only present on the podium. However, as noted, the *aedes Divi Iuli* had no axial approach from the level of the piazza, and the gates that are visible there may be on the lateral ramps that ran up the side of the podium from the east. The mid-second century depictions of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae* show a distinct separation of the temple and the area in front of it: the street of the *Sacra via*. The *Historiae Augustae* notes that Patruinus was killed in front of (*ante*) this temple and that his body was dragged through the streets, perhaps implying that the act occurred outside of the boundary.⁴⁸⁵ There is no need to explicitly mention that boundary,

⁴⁸⁵ *Hist. Aug. Carac. 4.2*, occisus est etiam eius iussu Patruinus ante templum divi Pii, tractaque sunt eorum per platea cadavera sine aliqua humanitatis reverential.

since this text dates from a period by which time the spatial habits, emerging here, had been habitual for centuries.

The images of the temple bring to mind Cicero's remarks on the *cancelli* of the forum. As noted, Pliny described the construction of a latticed fence, similar to the *cancelli* of the theatre, and elsewhere he compares the defensive mechanism of the female polypus to a *cancellus*; spreading out its feelers, "interlaced like a net".⁴⁸⁶ This lattice-work design is evidently a defining feature of a *cancellus*, and this is what we see on the representations of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*. It is also a prominent feature on other Antonine coins. Several numismatic depictions of the column of Antoninus Pius, for example, show a large *cancellus* across ground-level.⁴⁸⁷ This type of structure is also visible on the depictions of public activity thought to represent the forum at Pompeii. This will be discussed in detail in the examination of that forum in Chapter 5.

Whether Cicero was referring to permanent or temporary structures, the representation of *cancelli* on depictions of spaces within the Forum Romanum must lead us to conclude that they were erected with the intention of permanence. The images of such spaces are representations of space, and are thus imbued with selective emphasis. In these cases, the fence that bounds the temple is clearly an important part of the perception of that space.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

The aims of this chapter have been: to consider the Forum Romanum and its position within the city of Rome, in order to understand the significance of movement for the perception and use of this space; to examine how transitional spaces around the forum were related to patterns of movement; to examine the evidence for restrictions on movement either to or

⁴⁸⁶ Plin. *HN*. 9.164, polypus femina modo in ovis sedet, modo cavernam cancellato brachiorum inplexu claudit.

⁴⁸⁷ Nash 1968, I: 275.

within the forum; and to trace the emergence of an urban disposition founded on enclosure and restricted movement.

This chapter has demonstrated how in order to understand fully the through movement potential of the Forum Romanum, which was its key characteristic within the urban landscape, it is necessary to also understand the spaces around it and the ‘natural movement’ of the wider area. What we can see is congruence with the themes discussed in Chapter 2. The Forum Romanum, and in particular its northwest and southeast corners, was a link between other *loci celeberrimi*. There would have been high volumes of movement moving to and through the forum, although the position of those spaces meant that most through movement could pass across the edges, rather than move through the forum piazza. Movement varied from direction to direction, and influenced the perception of space accordingly. This survey has highlighted the southeast corner, near the *aedes Castoris*, as a particularly important location for movement, and it is intriguing that this space was developed in the late Republic and early Principate, and thereafter functioned as a pedestrian zone. Different paving articulated different types of movement, with a clear separation of the pedestrian and the vehicular.

The importance of routes to the Forum Romanum can be seen in one of the more familiar representations of this space: the *Anaglypha Traiani*.⁴⁸⁸ The *vicus Tuscus* is depicted as a void between the *aedes Castoris* and the *Basilica Iulia* (fig. 39). This is not a void in the sense that it is the empty space left between buildings. Rather, it is an absence that depicts an important topographical presence: the presence of movement and accessibility to the Forum Romanum, a site characterised by its through movement potential.

⁴⁸⁸ The most recent discussion of is in Torelli 1992: 89-118. Earlier discussions, which disagree over points of location and orientation, include Jenkins 1901; Boatwright 1987: 182-90.



Figure 39 Section of the *Anaglypha Traiani* showing the gap of the *vicus Tuscus*. (Photo = author).

However, it is clear that there were numerous attempts to restrict that movement; perhaps initially through temporary measures or decrees without physical enforcement, but with an identifiable emergence of physical controls in the first century A.D. that either enforced the division of pedestrian and vehicles (as around the *Arcus Augusti*), or closed precinct space and made it inaccessible to routine movement (as for the *lacus Curtius* or the *aedes Divi Iuli*). While recognising the continued importance of the Forum Romanum as a permeable space, we can see restrictions on space in the late Republic which were formalised under Augustus. The through movement characteristic of the Forum Romanum would mean that enclosing the space entirely would be a difficult and unpopular act. Rather we see the emergence of isolated controls that nevertheless embody the same inherent logic: the reduction of accessibility and, therefore, increasing control over permissible movement.

This allows us to consider the implications of this emerging spatial logic on the design of new fora, and it is at precisely this period that we find the imperial fora developing to the northeast of the Forum Romanum. These new fora allowed for the design of space, rather than the modification of it; building and reflecting the contemporary urban disposition, recalling the earlier statement that “how we build cities depends on how we understand them”.

Returning to the theories outlined earlier in this thesis, we can now summarise the argument thus far as follows. The topographical disposition of the Forum Romanum made it a busy space and this spatial practice was reflected in representations of that space in different media, most notably as a through route or shortcut. This is a relationship between spatial practice and space as it is perceived. The imperial fora, on the other hand, allow us to see the relationship between spatial practice and space as it is conceived; in other words, how restrictions on movement and traffic were planned and built. The following chapter addresses similar concerns to what has gone before: how did the imperial fora fit into the configured space of the city and what restrictions existed on movement into and through them? What urban disposition do they reveal?

4. THE IMPERIAL FORA

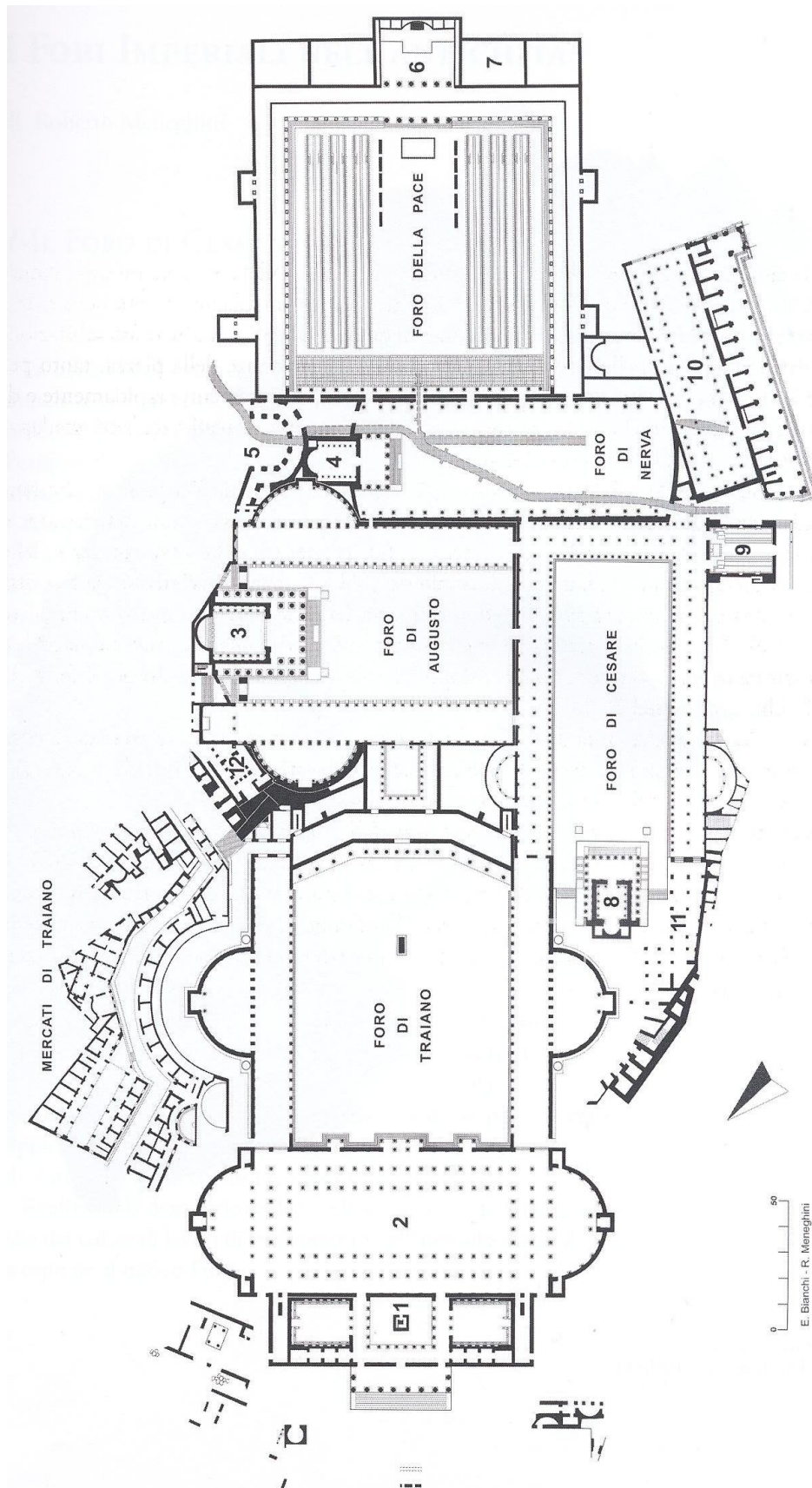


Figure 40 The imperial fora (Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani, 2007: fig. 15).

4. THE IMPERIAL FORA

*“Par le groupement des bâtiments en squares, cours et terrasses fermées,
on évince les cochers”*.⁴⁸⁹

Jerome Carcopino concluded his assessment of Trajan’s initiatives in the city of Rome by saying that his eponymous forum crowned his work and, moreover: “by levelling off the Quirinal he opened new roads to traffic, as well as added another immense open public space to the centre of the city”.⁴⁹⁰ Carcopino’s assessment is ultimately out of step with the evidence; his notion of large-scale urban remodelling and associated traffic rationality was based more on his own sensibilities in post-Hausmann Paris than on the archaeology of movement in ancient Rome. Instead, such evidence leads us to conclude that while new roads were created, they were not necessarily permeable, and the immense public space in the centre of the city was not as open as one might assume. This chapter consolidates the evidence for how the imperial fora related to pre-existing street networks, thereby enabling a chronological interpretation of changes to the infrastructures of movement and traffic.

The preceding discussion of the Forum Romanum was in the most part an examination of spatial practice and perception: that is to say, how movement and traffic influenced the characterisation of space. This chapter is instead an examination of spatial practice and conceived space: that is to say, how movement and traffic were shaped by the design and build of particular configurations of streets and architectures. It is useful to recall the theoretical discussion from the opening chapter of this thesis before we begin, so that this distinction is clear. Whilst both chapters consider spatial practice and through movement potential, this chapter shifts the theoretical focus from the last by examining ‘representations

⁴⁸⁹ Arthur Rimbaud (1873-75) *Les Illuminations* XIX: *Ville*.

⁴⁹⁰ Carcopino 1968: 9.

of space’ – the design of space as it is conceived according to a particular logic. This chapter allows us to understand conceived space through examining new constructions, designed from a particular urban disposition.

As this chapter is concerned with the physical manifestation of a cultural logic of space, and owing to the nature of the evidence available, its basis is more archaeological than textual. The chronological focus of this chapter is from the first plans for the imperial fora in the mid-50s B.C., through to the completion of the forum and Markets of Trajan in the early second century A.D. The physical space under discussion can be seen in figure 40. This includes the four fora of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Nerva and Trajan as well as the adjoining spaces of the Templum Pacis and the Markets of Trajan, and with a particular focus on the named streets of the *Argiletum*, *via Biberatica*, *clivus Argentarius* and *vicus Pallacrinae*. Naturally, the space devoted to each varies depending upon their pertinence to the specific issues under discussion.

By examining the physical infrastructures of movement over time, this chapter traces the relationship between movement and power. The imperial fora allow us to consider the ways in which patterns of movement inscribe power in the space of the city, namely, the design of inaccessibility into ostensibly public spaces: the transformation of the street into the piazza, and the piazza into the precinct. This necessarily creates differential levels of access, a key socio-cultural metaphor. In addition, this chapter allows us to see how an initial respect for the existing road network was replaced by ever more intrusive changes which removed, rather than opened, streets. As has been noted, “only when the central authority of the city can arrogate to itself the power to expropriate can broad avenues be cut through existing fabric”.⁴⁹¹ In this case, for ‘broad avenues’ we can read ‘fora’, but the message remains the same: we can posit a correlation between the imperial power and the degree to which space was transformed. In short, early developments see the replacement of existing parcels of land

⁴⁹¹ Wallace-Hadrill 2003: 193.

(one type of space is replaced with another, within the same footprint), while it is only later that we see streets and wider networks being modified (one type of space is replaced with another, on a different and expanded footprint that cuts across street networks).⁴⁹²

This chapter begins by considering how the successive imperial fora related to the pre-existing street network. By looking at the recent archaeological data for what the fora replaced, we can consider the ways in which different new fora either were adapted to, or forced the adaptation of, existing streets, *insulae* and patterns of movement. Once we understand how the imperial fora related to their contemporary street network, we can then consider issues of access and permeability, the better to understand the difference between the through movement potential of the Forum Romanum and that of the imperial fora.

4.1 THE IMPACT OF THE IMPERIAL FORA ON EXISTING STREETS AND SPACES

The principal excavators of our study area, which was subject to intense archaeological investigation in the context of the construction of Via dei Fori Imperiali (née Via dell'Impero), recognised the complexity of the picture they were unearthing. Antonio Maria Colini, who led the excavation of the Templum Pacis and the clearance of the Velia, routinely recorded “strade che vengono interrotte e cambiano tracciato”.⁴⁹³ Hitherto hindered by a lack of detailed evidence, examinations of the layout of urban space before the imperial fora have been rare. One recent and productive attempt is that by Domenico Palombi, who began by asserting that the transformation of the area was a measure of urban brutality no less severe than the *sventramenti* of the Alessandrina quarter in the 1920s-1940s.⁴⁹⁴ Palombi is right to draw attention to the scale of change, but his analogy is flawed. The *sventramenti* were a

⁴⁹² Newsome forthcoming 2010 will cover the correlation between power and spatial change in more detail than can be afforded here, with a particular focus on real estate and property negotiation.

⁴⁹³ Cited in Bellanca 2003: 191.

⁴⁹⁴ Palombi 2005a: 81.

particular project, whereas the development of the imperial fora extended over a century and a half. In this time, different urban contingencies will have led to variation in the way in which the imperial monuments were constructed. Streets were clearly obliterated by the construction of the imperial fora, but not all streets, and not all from day one.

The remainder of this section proceeds chronologically, from the Forum Iulium through to the Forum Traiani. It is concerned with the archaeological evidence for physical change, and reconstructs the earlier infrastructures of movement and the impact of the imperial fora upon them. Although we encountered some exceptions in Chapter 1, few studies have primarily been concerned with elucidating movement. Therefore, much of what follows requires piecing together evidence which was itself not written with the theme of urban movement in mind. When the physical development of the imperial fora in relation to existing spaces has been pieced together and examined, this chapter then discusses the limitations on movement to and through these new spaces.

4.1.1 55 -2 B.C.: The Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum

A measure of the change in our knowledge of this space is that Edoardo Tortorici's study of 1991 had to satisfy itself with labelling all of the area beneath the Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum with an unspecific and speculative "*domus et insulae*".⁴⁹⁵ Excavation has since revealed many of the details. While the information is still by no means straightforward, recent excavations have resolved many contentious issues regarding the chronology of these monumental spaces.

Construction of the Forum Iulium appears to have begun in 52/1 B.C. and was dedicated five years later at the culmination of Caesar's triumph.⁴⁹⁶ We can extend this date

⁴⁹⁵ Tortorici 1991: tav. II.

⁴⁹⁶ Suet., *Iul.* 26; Cass. Dio 43.22.2.

range somewhat, as it was evidently planned before construction began and was evidently unfinished when dedicated. On the former point, a letter from Cicero to Atticus, written in 54 B.C., preserved many useful details about the negotiation and planning of this large scale project.⁴⁹⁷ On the latter, both Cassius Dio and the elder Pliny state that the forum project was completed by Octavian.⁴⁹⁸ The same detail is listed in the *Res Gestae* alongside the completion of Caesar's other grandiose building campaign in this part of the city, the *Basilica Iulia* on the other side of the Forum Romanum.⁴⁹⁹

The Forum Iulium was built on land bought from private ownership to the northeast of the Forum Romanum, extending *usque ad Atrium Libertatis*.⁵⁰⁰ The latter detail has not led to consensus over the location of the building. Briefly, Thomsen speculated that it stood in the south portico of the Forum Iulium, but this makes little sense given Cicero's use of *usque ad*. From the Forum Romanum, which according to Cicero was ostensibly being expanded (*laxare*), this implies that the *Atrium Libertatis* defined the farthest limit of Caesar's precinct. There is clearly no indication that Caesar's plans involve the destruction or alteration of the *Atrium Libertatis* itself, only that this defines the extent of the former. As we noted briefly in Chapter 3, Purcell favoured an altogether different location, on the site of the *Tabularium* on the south slope of the Capitoline.⁵⁰¹ Castagnoli located the *Atrium Libertatis* in the area of the *porta Fontinalis*, just beyond the Forum Iulium, on the site later occupied by the *Basilica*

⁴⁹⁷ Cic., *ad Att.* 14.16, itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet, (in) monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sexcenties HS; cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia; discussed in Newsome forthcoming 2010.

⁴⁹⁸ Cass. Dio 45.6.4; Pliny *NH* 35.156.

⁴⁹⁹ Aug., *RG* 20, Forum Iulium et basilicam quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni [...] que opera a patre meo perfeci.

⁵⁰⁰ Cic., *ad Att.* 14.16. The most detailed survey prior to the recent excavations was Amici 1991. Ulrich 1993 provides important criticisms of earlier reconstructions, while Westall 1996 is an important discussion of the representative power of the new forum

⁵⁰¹ Purcell 1993.

Argentaria.⁵⁰² This being a later, Trajanic structure might explain the apparent relocation of the *Atrium Libertatis* to the eastern exedra of the *Basilica Ulpia* in the Forum Traiani, as suggested by the *Forma Urbis Romae*. However, if the *Atrium Libertatis* were under the *Basilica Argentaria*, then it makes Cicero's choice of farthest extents for the new project curious. The recent investigations into the course of the Servian Wall indicate that, if in this location, the *Atrium Libertatis* would be outside and, from the point of view of the Forum Romanum, beyond this landmark. Cicero might therefore be expected to have defined the limit of Caesar's project as something akin to '*usque ad murus Servii*', not a building beyond it. Recent investigations suggest that the orientation of Caesar's project was based on the existing line of the old city boundary (see below).⁵⁰³ The contentious location of the *Atrium Libertatis* need not further divert us here, but the reference reveals how Caesar's project was conceptualised in terms of *existing* spatial boundaries.⁵⁰⁴ What is most useful here is the theme that Caesar's building project was conceived to fit into existing urban space, at least in terms of existing buildings.

The construction sequence in the area to the northeast of the Forum Romanum is complex and overlapping, and complicated in part by the fire in the late-50s B.C. which cleared the area for redevelopment. Cassius Dio gives the only reference to another monument within this area, the Temple of Felicitas, mentioned in relation to the destruction of the Sullan curia.⁵⁰⁵ Dio says that the temple was built on the same site, though not that it necessarily shared the same footprint. The building's history seems relatively compact.

⁵⁰² In Tortorici 1991: 75-80, fig. 56.

⁵⁰³ For a reconstruction that shows the Servian Wall being truncated by the new forum, see von Gerkan 1940: abb. 13 and 14.

⁵⁰⁴ Defining the expansion as far as a building rather than a street gives some indication of the standard topographic signifiers in Cicero's Rome. Something similar could be said of Augustus' later comment in the *Res Gestae* (20), in which the *Basilica Iulia* is presented as *inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni*, rather than the more topographically specific *inter vicum Tuscum et vicum Iugarium*

⁵⁰⁵ Cass. Dio. 44.5.2.

Construction began in 47 B.C. and was completed a year later. Remains found within the church of SS. Martina e Luca were oriented with the *Curia Iulia* and Forum Iulium, rather than on the north-south alignment of the earlier structures aligned with the Curia Hostilia and its Sullan enlargement. As such, Tortorici proposed that the Temple of Felicitas not only replaced the Sullan curia but was oriented to the same axes as Caesar's grander project in this area.⁵⁰⁶ If this reading of the interventions in the period 47 - 44 B.C. is correct, it demonstrates a shift in the organisation of space in the northeast of the Forum Romanum. Where the *Curia Hostilia*, *Comitium* and *Basilica Porcia* had until 52 B.C. pushed the *clivus Argentarius* gradually westwards as it descended into the forum, the removal of these spaces and the new alignment of the Forum Iulium, *Curia Iulia* and Temple of Felicitas allowed for a reorganisation of the street network in this area, in an area roughly parallel with the facade of the *Curia Iulia* across to the *Carcer*. This has been considered in terms of a monumentalisation of the street network at the northeast of the Forum Romanum but, importantly, this did not truncate or remove any streets, nor change the through movement potential of any spaces.⁵⁰⁷ It was a cosmetic rather than infrastructural change. We can consider these changes in more detail now.

⁵⁰⁶ Although they remain unpublished, a summary of the excavations for via del Tulliana in the 1930s and photographs from 1941 appear in Tortorici 1991: 56-64, tav II. The remains included a stretch of white mosaic floor, truncated by a tufa wall in *opera quadrata* and a displaced Ionic capital. The mosaic floor was attributed to the Sullan curia, obliterated by the later building which, following Dio, was most likely the Temple of Felicitas.

⁵⁰⁷ La Rocca 2001: 178, n.19; 2006: fig. 18. Suggestions that this area was modified in order to provide an axial approach to the later Forum Augustum and *aedes Martis Ultoris*, through a lateral arch into the portico of the Forum Iulium, cannot be given too much confidence. Indeed, the line of *tabernae* on the outside of Caesar's forum appears to have extended to the *Curia Iulia*, removing any space for a monumental entrance on this side (Martin G. Conde, pers. comm.) For the argument that the *Curia Iulia* was further towards the north, until being repositioned under Domitian, see Richardson 1978b: esp. 360-2. Richardson argues that the *chalcidicum* of the *Curia Iulia* would have blocked the *Argiletum*.

In terms of streets, the closest to the Forum Iulium was the *clivus Argentarius*, already encountered in Chapter 2 as the joining point between several *loci celeberrimi* – Piso’s house and those in the northwest corner of the Forum Romanum. The foundations identified as the *porta Fontinalis* on the southeast of the Capitoline (visible by steps leading to the Museo del Risorgimento and the Vittoriano) are, some would suggest, on too much of a steep slope to form a simple route around the hill from the *Campus Martius* to the Forum Romanum. We will recall the earlier discussion of the *clivus ad Carinas*, and note the importance of routes that were heavily used because they minimised economies of effort. However, the importance of this route around the Capitoline was demonstrated by the construction of a colonnade by M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paulus in 193 B.C., linking the *porta Fontinalis* to the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius.⁵⁰⁸ Because of the elevation of the *porta Fontinalis*, a street at a lower level has been sought around the podium of the temple within the new forum. Von Gerkan suggested that the *aedes Venus Genetrix* was built on top of an existing gateway and a street which ran directly north from the *clivus Argentarius* out of the Forum Romanum (fig. 41).⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ Livy 35.10, *aedilitas insignis eo anno fuit M. Aemilii Lepidi et L. Aemilii Pauli: multos pecuarios damnarunt; ex ea pecunia clupea inaurata in fastigio Iouis aedis posuerunt, porticum unam extra portam Trigeminam, emporio ad Tiberim adiecto, alteram ab porta Fontinali ad Martis aram qua in Campum iter esset perduxerunt.*

⁵⁰⁹ Von Gerkan 1940, abb.13-4.

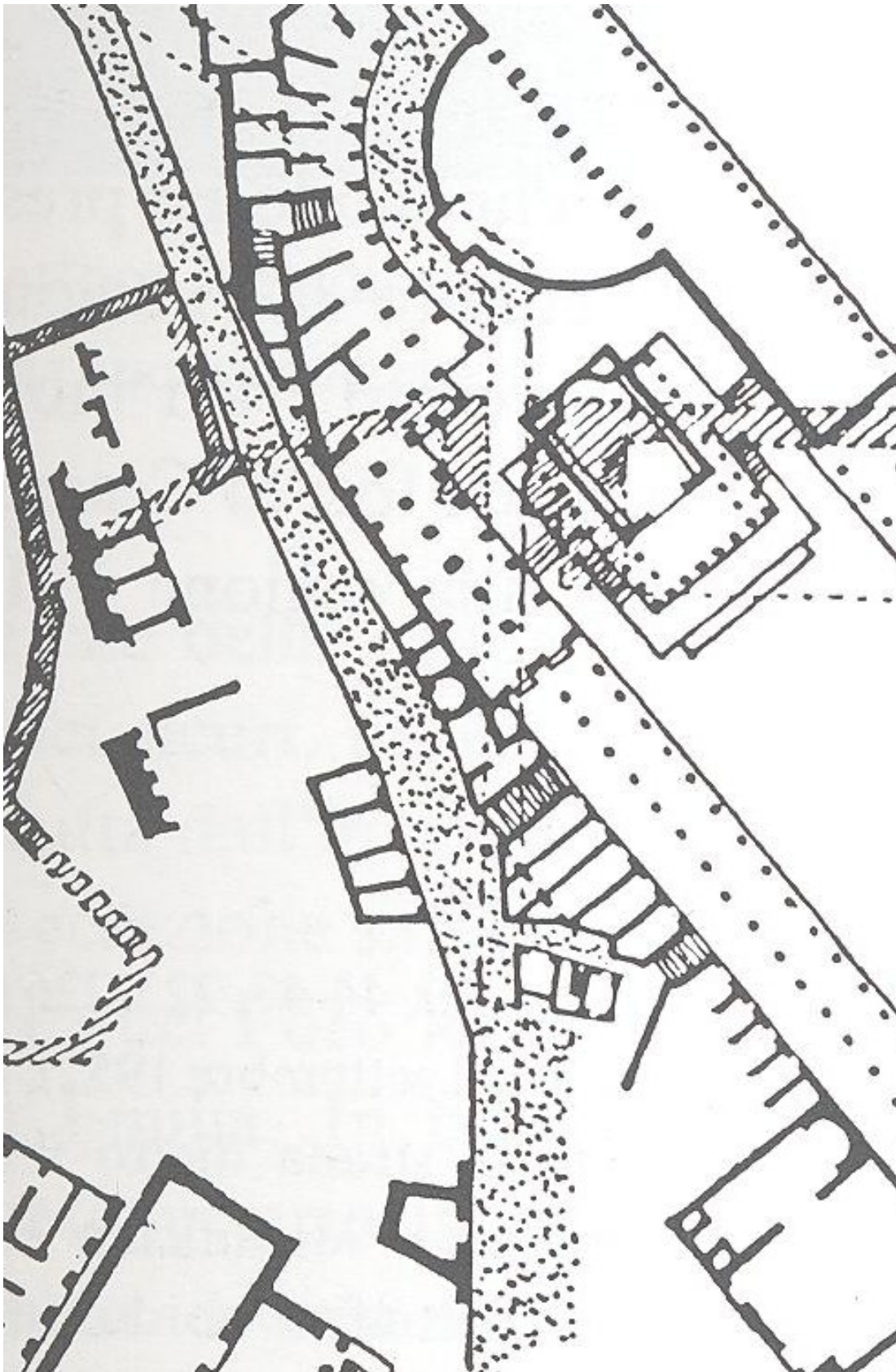


Figure 41 Reconstruction of the straightened *clivus Argentarius* (dashed line) (von Gerkan 1940: abb. 13).

Ulrich disagreed on the details but likewise suggested that the staggered nature of the apses to the west of the podium represented the impediment posed by a pre-existing structure, and conjecturally mapped a northbound extension of the *clivus Argentarius* at this point.⁵¹⁰ If there was not a street running at the point near the podium of the temple then the building ran exactly *usque ad Atrium Libertatis* and fitted in accordingly. Alternatively, the complex extended as far as the line of a street that cut north from the *clivus Argentarius*. In either reconstruction, the Forum Iulium goes to great lengths to mask its inability to remodel these external spaces by concealing its irregularity behind staggered apses. In this sense, whichever interpretation we agree with, it points to the constraints imposed upon Caesar's project by existing urban space. If either of von Gerkan or Ulrich's suggestions for the original course of the *clivus Argentarius* is accurate then the Forum Iulium would have eliminated the convenient and important route from the *Campus Martius*. This seems unlikely and provides a parallel with what we observe, later, in the Forum Augustum. However, excavations in 2006 revealed that the course of the Republican *clivus Argentarius* was changed during the Caesarian constructions, to follow the orientation of the new project and no doubt this was related to the terracing of the slope for the creation not only of the new forum but also of the *tabernae* on the slope of the *Arx*.⁵¹¹ The excavators call this an eloquent testimony to the modifications and state accurately that the Caesarian project cut through the existing street. However, we can see that any such modifications did not suppress the street but reoriented it. The change is not prohibitive to movement, and if it is, it was a change that presented a remedy (the new orientation of the street). Indeed, we have noted already that Strabo described moving to the Forum Romanum from the *Campus Martius*, and he passed by the new fora to the side of the road. The Forum Iulium may not have fitted seamlessly into the earlier street network, but nor did it *remove* any streets in the surrounding area. In this regard,

⁵¹⁰ Ulrich 1993: 63, 69, fig. 1.

⁵¹¹ See Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007: 32 and fig. 17. The Republican street, with a sewer lined with tufa, skirted the Capitoline in the second century B.C.

it would not have changed the through movement potential of the Forum Romanum, with both the *clivus Argentarius* and *Argiletum* still accessible.

Turning from the north end of the Forum Iulium to the south, we come to the impact of the new construction on one of the more familiar of Rome's Republican districts, the *Argiletum*. As briefly noted, the name is often given to identify the street which ran between the later Forum Augustum and the Templum Pacis and which was then itself replaced by the Forum Nervae. There is good reason to consider it as such. This street formed the boundary between *Regiones* IV (*Templum Pacis*) and VIII (*Forum Romanum vel Magnum*). The divisions between the Augustan regions is still a matter of debate, but seem to follow existing urban streets. The *via Lata*, for example, was the natural physical divide between *Regiones* VII (*via Lata*, to the east) and IX (*Circus Flaminius*, to the west), while the divide between *Regiones* X (*Palatium*) and XI (*Circus Maximus*) seems to have been the street that ran at the foot of the Palatine (modern-day *via dei Cerchi*). Indeed, there is evidence that this street was coloured red on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, a fact that has led to the suggestion that the boundaries between the administrative regions were formally marked on the plan.⁵¹² We should also recall from Chapter 3 that the *cloaca Maxima* ran through the space between the later Forum Augustum and the Templum Pacis, that is to say, beneath the street of the *Argiletum*. It has thus seemed entirely reasonable to reconstruct the toponym *Argiletum* to a single, specific thoroughfare, which ran to the Forum Romanum from the *Subura*. Augustan paving stones have been uncovered adjacent to the Forum Iulium (fig. 42). As this survived until Domitian's reorganisation of the area in the 80s-90s A.D., we might conclude that the Forum Iulium did not impose itself upon this existing space.

⁵¹² Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 127, 138. It should be noted it should be noted that this is the only example of a coloured street thus far discovered.

However, Tortorici has extended the term to the wider district, of which the road later obliterated by the Forum Nervae was just one part, albeit the defining one.⁵¹³ Indeed, other sources that refer to the *Argiletum* do so in such a manner that more closely resemble the idea of an area, rather than a specific street. Martial, for instance, who was writing just before and during the time when the area was undergoing significant changes under Domitian and Nerva, speaks of going to the *Argiletum* that recalls moving to the district of the Forum Romanum.⁵¹⁴ We should acknowledge that both designations – street and district – are equally plausible and are not in any case mutually exclusive. If we follow Tortorici’s suggestion, the *Argiletum* would extend northeast from the Forum Romanum toward the Quirinal, and thus occupy the space to the ‘left’ of the street as one headed toward the *Subura*: the ground later occupied by the imperial fora. What evidence is there for streets and structures preceding the new fora?



Figure 42 Augustan paving stones of the *Argiletum*, besides the Forum Iulium (Tortorici 1991: fig. 21).

⁵¹³ Tortorici 1991: 32–4, on Livy 1.19.2.

⁵¹⁴ Mart. 1.117.9, *Argi nempe soles subire Letum, contra Caesaris est forum taberna*. For attempts to locate Martial’s bookshop, in my view unconvincing, see Rodríguez Almeida 1982–83.

Finding traces of occupation beneath the Forum Iulium is hampered by the caveat of the terracing and levelling work that was undertaken in order to prepare the site for the new piazza and surrounding porticoes.⁵¹⁵ The terracing in this area had originally been considered Domitianic, in preparation for his planned forum (the later Forum Traiani), but recent investigations have revealed landscape modelling in the original design of the Forum Iulium, which is both earlier and more extensive than hitherto appreciated.⁵¹⁶ Accordingly, the footprints of Republican houses and any streets or pathways are unlikely to have survived beneath the new structures, and we should not expect to find the full layout of a pre-Caesarian *insula*. However, there are exceptions which offer some clues from which we might develop some broader issues.⁵¹⁷

A sixth or fifth century B.C. well was found beneath the piazza of the forum, which had been backfilled with material datable to between the second and the mid-first centuries B.C.⁵¹⁸ The top level of this fill, arguably filled in preparation for the construction of the new forum, was made up of fragments of variously painted plaster. It is likely that this came from a Republican *domus*, which had been demolished to make way for the Forum Iulium.⁵¹⁹ Indeed, while the particular layout is not entirely clear, Rizzo has argued that a regular layout may be discerned from tufa, *opus quadratum* foundations from as early as the third century B.C., accompanied with paving and drainage. These were all built atop the same layer of

⁵¹⁵ Rizzo 2001: 222–3 and fig. 6.

⁵¹⁶ La Rocca 2001: 174–5.

⁵¹⁷ I here refer the reader to the ongoing research into the pre-Caesarian levels by Alessandro Delfino at the Università di Roma “La Sapienza” (for example, “Il Foro di Cesare: le fasi precesariane e il primo impianto costruttivo del foro alla luce delle nuove indagini archeologiche”, delivered 15th July 2009. A symposium discussing recent findings took place in Rome on 17th December 2008, “Il Foro di Cesare: nuovi dati da scavi e studi recenti” under the auspices of the Comune di Roma. It is not yet clear if these will be published.

⁵¹⁸ Rizzo 2001: 221 and fig. 10.

⁵¹⁹ Rizzo 2001: 221.

debris, were of the same material, cut by the same technique to the same proportions. This may be the first detailed evidence of regular planning in the area before the Forum Iulium.⁵²⁰

What can we say from this disparate evidence? Most importantly for understanding patterns of movement and through movement potential in this wider area of the city, we can see that the Forum Iulium replaced earlier *domus* and that a program of landscape modelling was enacted in order to prepare the site for the new forum piazza. However, despite changes to the orientation of the *clivus Argentarius*, there were no substantial changes to the infrastructures of movement that had preceded the forum. It is clear that properties within the district of the *Argiletum* were replaced, but the street of the *Argiletum* remained.

The same basic approach to existing infrastructures of movement can be discerned with the Forum Augustum. Ostensibly, this forum was constructed because of pressures on movement, or at least increased demands on litigation, in the Forum Romanum.⁵²¹ One of the most frequently cited passages relating to Augustan building projects states that the new emperor built his forum to a smaller size than he would have liked, and that this act of constraint was responsible for the peculiar layout of the precinct. This is particularly clear at the northeast, behind the *aedes Martis Ultoris*, where the perimeter of the forum was conditioned by the existing street that ran from the Quirinal towards the *Argiletum* (fig. 43). Suetonius provides the most well-known statement on Augustus' forum and its relation to existing urban space: "he built his Forum narrower" because he did was unable to dispossess local residents.⁵²²

However, despite claiming that he built the forum on his own land, evidence of pre-Augustan housing beneath the piazza attests to the residential character of the space prior to

⁵²⁰ Rizzo 2001: 227.

⁵²¹ Suet. *Aug.* 29.1, *Fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere.*

⁵²² Suet. *Aug.* 56. *Forum angustius fecit non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos.* Here, *angustus* might better be translated as 'less spacious', since the Forum is not disproportionately narrow.

the Augustan interventions.⁵²³ One of the most striking changes in our understanding of the forum, from the recent excavations, is that the two hemicycles either side of the north end of the precinct were formerly matched by two other hemicycles to the south.⁵²⁴ This not only invalidates suggestions that the form of the new forum was in some way symbolic – because its familiar form to us was *not* the form in which it was conceived – but reminds us to consider the fora as processes rather than as products.⁵²⁵ The changes also influences how we understand movement around the contemporary area. A hemicycle to the southwest corner of the precinct indicates that the later connecting vestibule between the Forum Augustum and Forum Traiani (see below) was not the replacement of an existing thoroughfare, since this route was already truncated in the Augustan period. A hemicycle to the southeast corner of the precinct further indicates the degree to which the Forum Augustum respected existing infrastructures of movement: extending a hemicycle east, to the same proportions as those at the north of the precinct, would run up to the line of the *Argiletum* identified by Tortorici (see below). Properties and commercial units were undoubtedly removed by the Augustan project, but streets were not. We should also remind ourselves that when Augustus chose to reorganise the city in 7 B.C., one of the regional boundaries (between *Regiones* IV and VIII) was based on the course of the street of the *Argiletum* (see below).

There may be some politics in Suetonius' explanation that Augustus did not dispossess property owners in the area for his new forum. The use of *extorquere*, with its connotations of compulsion (by physical force) and, above all, the suggestion that Augustus *chose* not to exert his influence, is more aggressive and less conciliatory than Cicero's use of *non poterat*

⁵²³ Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007: 43 and fig. 31. On the rear wall of the Forum Augustum see Bauer 1985; Gismondi 1985. Geiger 2008: 53-7 presents a useful summary of the issue of the pressures on space on the new forum.

⁵²⁴ This has been related to a putative basilica within the Forum Augustum. See Ventura Villanueva 2006, although this is rejected by Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007: 54.

⁵²⁵ On earlier suggestions that the Forum Augustum had particular phallic symbolism, see Kellum 1997: 165. That the original project had four hemicycles rather than two destroys this reading.

(unable to) to describe the negotiations for the Forum Iulium, discussed above. *Extorquere* has connotations of a twisting, or wrenching motion: Augustus would not simply be buying out private owners, he would be physically pulling them out of the ground to make room for his new project. As such, one can imply that Augustus *could* have forcefully relocated the *possessores*, and changed the infrastructures of movement in the area, but made the decision not to. The use of *ausus*, with its implications of daring, implies that had Augustus forcefully removed the owners of their property, he would have been inviting criticism for developing urban space in such a way that his position could not yet justify. This relates the concept of changes to patterns of movement and the emergence of imperial power.

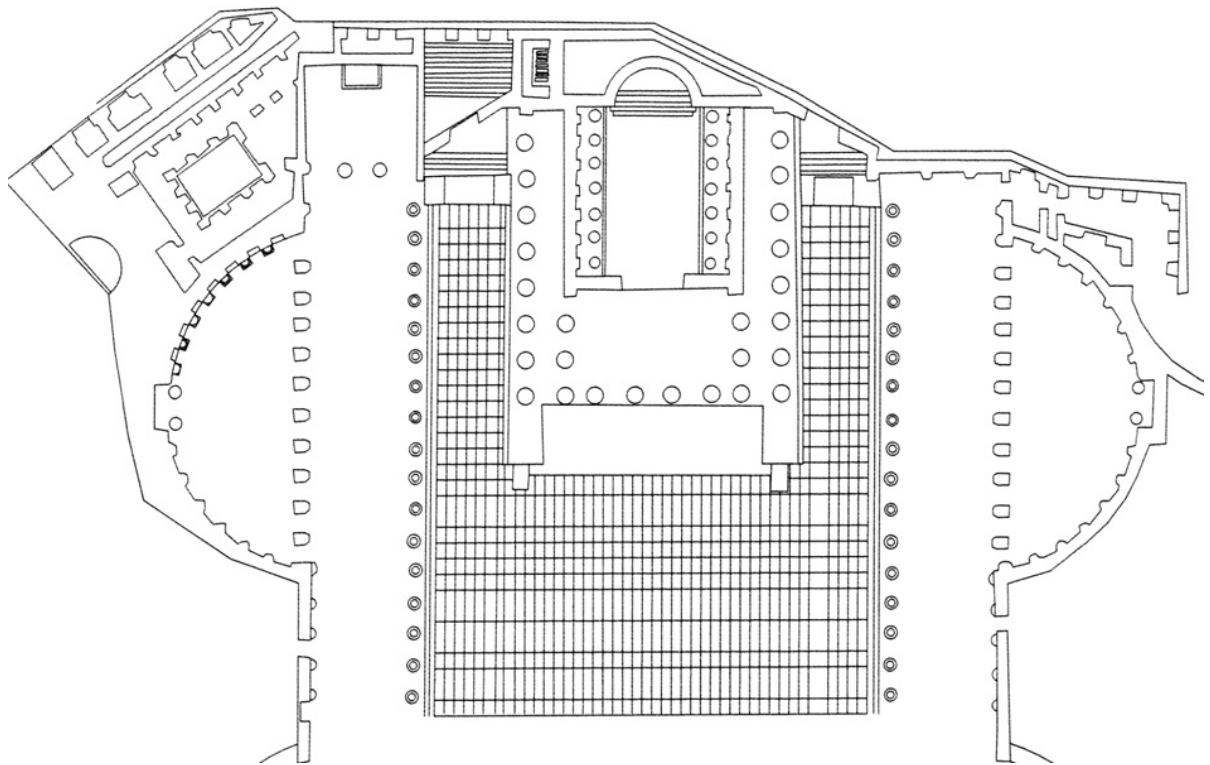


Figure 43 Plan of the north of the Forum Augustum, showing the perimeter wall conditioned by earlier streets. In the top-left is the Republican domus. (based on Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007: 32).

Wallace Hadrill has suggested that the spatial restraints on the Forum Augustum do not show Augustus' inability to remove individual owners, but his unwillingness to do so because this demonstrated his *civilitas* as *pater urbis*: "we are not looking at the limits of imperial power,

but its self-definition and self-representation”.⁵²⁶ This involves the respect of citizen and property rights, and infrastructures of movement are similarly spared any significant alteration or replacement. Accordingly, the limits of the Forum Augustum, which must have been visible to anyone walking along the streets outside, can be read as *civilitas* inscribed on the city plan. Each time one noticed the crooked layout of the precinct’s northeast corner, one would be reminded of the manner in which Augustus chose not to modify the existing urban space to too great a degree. But, crucially, the implication is that he could have done, had he so wished. This transforms the reading of the space of the Forum Augustum from a ‘weak’ reading – Augustus could not do what he wanted – to a ‘strong’ reading, demonstrating respect for citizen rights and the rule of law in relation to private property.

Immediately to the west of the Forum Augustum, indeed contiguous with it, was at least one *domus* from the late Republic, which was later incorporated into the *Terrazza Domiziana*. It has been convincingly suggested that the house was that of Sextus Pompeius, who was consul in A.D. 14. This identification is based on the descriptions of his property in letters written by Ovid. In one instance, Ovid suggests that no house is closer to the Forum Augustum than Pompeius’, and in another he goes so far as to call it a continuation of the forum itself.⁵²⁷ Looking at the archaeological evidence of shared masonry between the *domus* and western hemicycle of the forum, it is hard not to be convinced – especially in the absence of any other known late Republican and early imperial houses – that this is the house to which Ovid was referring.⁵²⁸ Perhaps we might also add a brief mention of the close relationship between Pompeius and Caesar Germanicus, and note the real possibility that Augustus’ forum was constrained because of the unwillingness to dispossess a friend of the family. Caesar’s forum extended in the direction of Piso’s property near the *porta Fontinalis* which, similarly,

⁵²⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1982; 2003: 194; Zanker 1988: 155-6 and Geiger 2008: 57 agree.

⁵²⁷ Ov. *Ex. Pon.* 4.5.9-10, Protinus inde domus uobis Pompeia petatur: non est Augusto iunctior ulla foro; 4.15.16, quam domus Augusto continuata foro.

⁵²⁸ Tortorici 1991: 160.

survived any interventions in this vast urban remodelling. In that instance, it might not be unreasonable to infer a similar personal decision behind the constraints: Caesar had marriage ties with the property from five years earlier.

In terms of how it related to movement and traffic, the Forum Augustum was not accessible to vehicles and was divorced from the streets whose course it so assiduously respected. Regarding the routes from the direction of the Quirinal and the *Subura*, these entered the forum either side of the *aedes Martis Ultoris*. That these were designed solely for pedestrian use is evident from the deep flights of stairs (fig. 44). No other monumental entrance has so far been discovered, and the connections with other fora did not incorporate wider through movement from the city streets (discussed below).



Figure 44 Steps entering the Forum Augustum, east of the *aedes Martis Ultoris*, from the street that defined its northern perimeter. (Photo = author).

Cassius Dio's account of the dedication of the *aedes Martis Ultoris* in the Forum Augustum is interesting in considering patterns of movement to and through the new forum, because the uses of the space imply a change in function from previous fora which relate also to access.⁵²⁹ The space is defined as the setting for the following, in accordance with the dedication: the start of foreign campaigns (55.10.2), the place for the return of retrieved military standards (55.10.4), the erection of bronze statues in honour of victorious generals (55.10.3), the dedication of victors' sceptre and crown (55.10.3), the Senate's votes on triumphs (55.10.3), and an annual festival celebrated by the cavalry commanders specifically 'besides the steps' of the temple (55.10.4). The militaristic overtones are clear and appropriate for the temple of the Avenger, usurping the Capitoline in the process. The temple, which is entirely within the forum, therefore has a fundamental influence on the way the forum, at large, is used. This was not the case for the Republican temples that bordered the Forum Romanum. In addition to the details listed above, Dio includes the following: "that [Augustus] himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished" (55.10.2). Dio's statement is significant because of the implication that the free will of attendance for Augustus, Gaius and Lucius is worthy of record. This, presumably, records a special dispensation granting the freedom of unqualified access to those named in the decree. This records the discrepant accessibility of this space and underlines the notion that going there as often as one wished was not possible to all. This 'public' space has restrictions upon its use by the general populace, restrictions that emphasise the unusual access of the imperial family. The physical and perhaps cultural restrictions on access to the Forum Augustum help us to understand why the *Miliarium Aureum* was not located there. Instead, it was placed in the Forum Romanum, a place of through movement potential and a space perceived as being that where the roads of Italy

⁵²⁹ Cass. Dio 55.10.1-5.

intersected.⁵³⁰ This choice represents a recognition that those roads did not intersect the new imperial fora, neither physically nor in the perception of that space. It was a different kind of space, with a different relationship to the city and, by extension, to Roman Italy.

The spatial development of the first two imperial fora can be characterised not as imposition but as negotiation and adaptation to the existing infrastructures of movement. We see properties replaced with new monumental spaces, but the major thoroughfares from the Republican period – namely the *clivus Argentarius* and the *Argiletum* – survive any Julio-Claudian interventions. It is not until the Flavian period that we see significant changes in this area which adversely affect the through movement potential of the surrounding areas. We can consider those changes in more detail now.

4.1.2 A.D. 81-96: The Forum Nervae and Porticus Absidata

The Porticus Absidata is often ignored in studies of the imperial fora, but it is arguably the most egregious example of the overall logic of space, manifest in one relatively small construction.⁵³¹ For the purposes of consolidating complementary evidence this section groups together the Templum Pacis, Forum Nervae and the Porticus Absidata, as a survey of the changes to the *Argiletum* in the late-first century A.D. It should be noted that the chapter uses the nomenclature Forum Nervae to describe the elongated piazza with the Temple of Minerva that was started by Domitian and completed by Nerva in A.D. 96/7. It is not uncommon to find this referred to as the Forum *Transitorium* in scholarship, on the basis of

⁵³⁰ On the *Miliarium Aureum* see Mari 1996. It was erected in 20 B.C. to commemorate Augustus' inauguration of the office of the cura viarum (Cass. Dio 54.8.4), and its location at the intersection of movement is described by Plut. *Galb.* 24.4. Newsome 2009a discusses this in more detail than is necessary or practical here.

⁵³¹ The most detailed study to date is Bauer 1983. See also Colini 1934 and 1937, in the context of the excavations of the Templum Pacis.

late antique texts that give it this name, and on the basis of an assumed role in connecting the other imperial fora.⁵³² We will discuss this in more detail below but, for now, suffice to say that the use of the name *Transitorium* cannot but bias our interpretation of the nature of movement through this space in the first centuries A.D. (the recorded use of the name is significantly later), and so Forum Nervae is preferred.

The commercial character of the area before the construction of the Forum Nervae has long been evident from Martial's epigrams. Martial refers to the shops of the *Argiletum* and his book's desire to live, or be sold from there; indicative of the commercial nature of the area and contributing to the suggestion that the area was particularly important as the centre of the Roman book trade in the first century A.D.⁵³³ Further evidence for the commercial character of the area is given where Martial directs Lupercus to his books, currently for sale in the *Argiletum*, in a shop opposite the Forum Iulium.⁵³⁴ As well as being useful for clarifying how such *tabernae* displayed their wares, the passage clearly places the shop in relation to a known monument which the street ran alongside to meet the Forum Romanum between the *Curia* and *Basilica Aemilia*. Therefore, Martial's shop was probably on the southeast side of the street. Thus, we have an alternative to the *domus* of Sextus Pompeius, besides the Forum Augustum on the northwest side of the street; as discussed above. We might therefore speculate that the southeast side of the *Argiletum* was occupied primarily by commercial units, while the north was occupied by residential structures. However, Tortorici's excavations revealed a row of *tabernae* on the northwest side of the *Argiletum*, under the later Porticus Absidata. Significantly, these were rebuilt under the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians; demonstrating the lasting influence of commercial activity until Domitian. We will return to the presence of *tabernae* in a short while.

⁵³² As in Anderson 1984; D'Ambra 1993. Less common is the use of *Forum Pervium* in secondary scholarship.

⁵³³ Mart. 1.3.1-2, *Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas, cum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacent.*

⁵³⁴ Mart., Ep. 1.117.

In 1995-1996, excavations across the western half of the Forum Nervae revealed extensive evidence for late Republican and early imperial *domus* beneath the level of the piazza.⁵³⁵ Outside this *domus* there was a public pavement flanking the *Argiletum*. There is no evidence that the *domus* was destroyed by fire, which is so often stated as a causal factor in the reorganisation of this urban area. Instead, Domitian's interventions appear far more straightforward. These houses were demolished for the construction of the Forum Nervae, an urban space created from the deliberate clearance of existing structures, not one constructed in response to the opportunity afforded by unforeseen events. We will return in the following section to the issue of what these changes implied for movement in the area. It is often presented as though the Forum Nervae was simply a monumental version of the street which it replaced. This was not the case, and we must recognise this if we are to understand the changes to through movement potential in this area and the imperial fora in general.

The Porticus Absidata is known from the Regionary catalogues, where it is the first entry in Regio IV (*Templum Pacis*). Significantly, this makes clear that it and the Forum Nervae were considered separate spaces in antiquity. One was not simply the entrance to the other. The *porticus* has unanimously been identified as the horseshoe-shaped portico just north of the Temple of Minerva, outside the Forum Nervae. Extensive remains are still visible from via Tor de'Conti (fig. 45). The remains of the Porticus Absidata were subject to detailed investigation and recording by Heinrich Bauer, as part of his wider campaign of investigations in the region of the Forum Nervae in the 1970s.⁵³⁶ There has been little sustained attention since, although a recent article by Gros has focussed attention on the role of this space.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁵ Rizzo, 2001: 224, fig. 12; Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani, 2007: 26. The *domus* had mosaic tile flooring and *opus spicatum* paving. The excavators recognised the form of a bathing suite which had been transformed into an *ergastulum*, a workhouse for slaves, sometime in the first century A.D.

⁵³⁶ The present author conducted a cursory survey of the site in April 2008. See Bauer 1976-77 and 1977 for detailed surveys of the Forum Nervae. Bauer 1985 discusses the area north of the Forum Augustum. Von Blankenhagen 1940 remains an important resource on the architectural development of this space.



Figure 45 The remains of the Porticus Absidata viewed from via Tor de'Conti. In the foreground one can see the curved foundations of the porticus, while in the background is the podium of the Temple of Minerva, within the Forum Nervae. (Photo = author).

It is clear that the Porticus Absidata occupied the space where several pre-Flavian roads joined. The road network is reasonably well attested by the contours of the Forum Augustum, as discussed above. Further to scattered *selce* paving and the layout of earlier monuments, there is also evidence in the form of ancient sewers that allowed Bauer to suggest that the Porticus Absidata collected up several important, older streets.⁵³⁸ This image of the *porticus* as the monumental node to which all streets in the local area gravitated is arguably true but, as will become clear, this does not necessarily mean that it had a straightforward role in channelling movement and traffic into the area behind it. It stands at a point in the urban landscape that would formerly have had much natural movement channelled there, but it was designed in such a way that it diminished the through movement potential of the area.

⁵³⁷ Gros 2001; See also La Rocca 2006.

⁵³⁸ Bauer 1983: 119.



Figure 46 *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment 16a, showing the Temple of Minerva in the Forum Nervae, the *Porticus Absidata* (left) and the vestibule between the two, the *Templum Pacis* (top) and the eastern hemicycle of the Forum Augustum (bottom edge).

The connection between the Porticus Absidata and the Forum Nervae is visible on fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (fig. 46) which also depicts the *Templum Pacis* and Forum Augustum, and highlights the links that this space had between the imperial fora. However, less clear is the links that the fora had, via the *porticus*, with the street network beyond. This was Bauer's main interest when investigating the structure.⁵³⁹ Although Bauer's main aim is the same, his reconstruction emphasises movement principles that are different to what we might now posit. Bauer envisaged the Porticus Absidata to be the principal, monumental

⁵³⁹ Bauer 1983: 112, "in particolare da forma della fila dei pilastri interni e il termine verso la strada esterna"

entrance to the zone of the imperial fora.⁵⁴⁰ Other evidence suggests that we might consider it a monumental barrier. Before examining the implications of this suggestion for the through movement potential of the wider space, we must consider the archaeological evidence for movement infrastructure at this location.

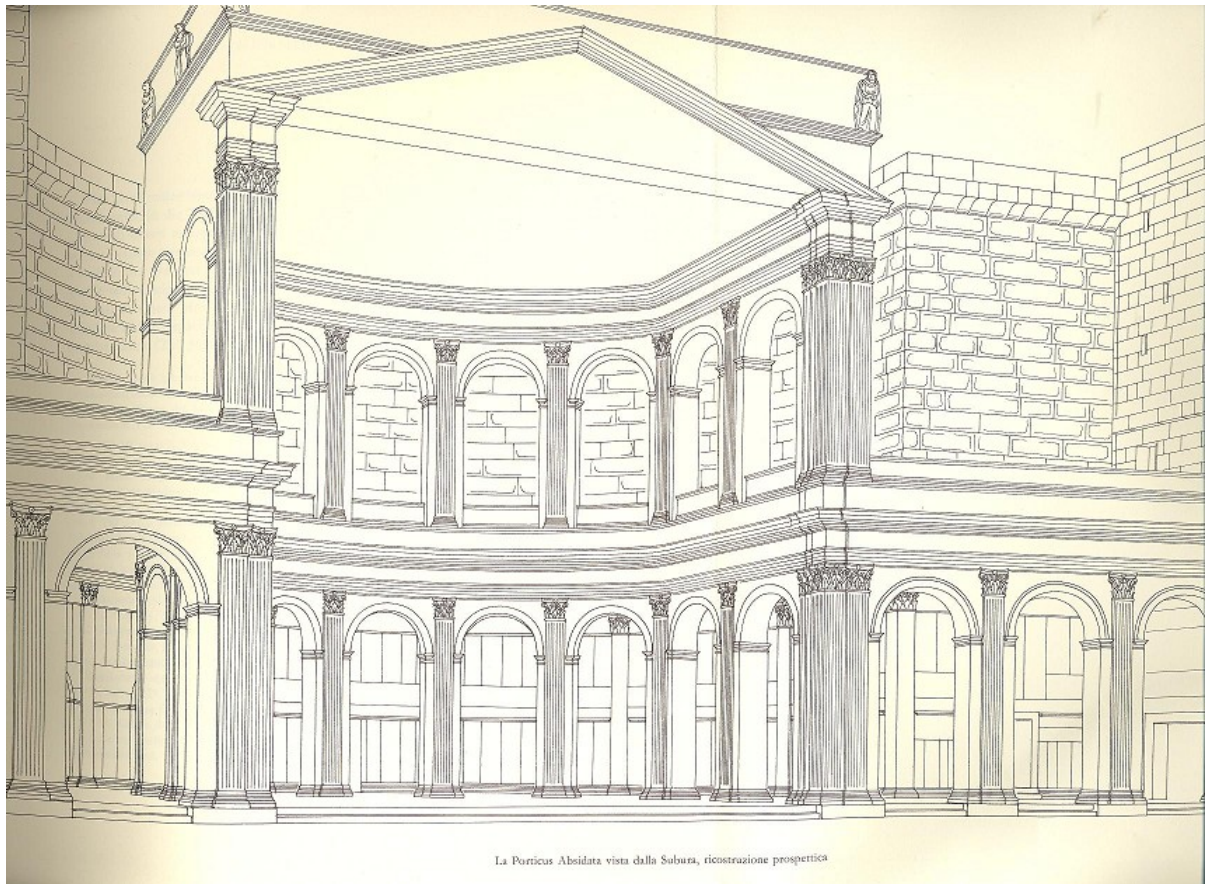


Figure 47 Reconstruction of the Porticus Absidata, as seen from the approach from the *Subura* (Bauer 1983: tav. 1).

Bauer's reconstruction has the *porticus* standing two storeys high, fitted with similar columnar architecture to the Colosseum and the *domus Flavia*, and thereby reflecting what he considered to be a particularly Flavian penchant for monumental verticality (fig. 47).⁵⁴¹ The entire scheme is conceived as a grandiose vista – a gigantic portal covering the visitor –

⁵⁴⁰ Bauer 1983: 111.

⁵⁴¹ Bauer 1983: 182–3.

terminating the view at this important junction for any movement that was heading toward the imperial fora from residential quarters outside. Movement through the Porticus Absidata is part of a continuing crescendo of architectural ornament as one moves into the imperial fora, finally arriving in the piazza of the Forum Nervae by the Temple of Minerva. Accordingly, the form of the monument is not related to its function, and it is interpreted merely as a showpiece, signalling the entrance to the monumental zones beyond. Stated definitively: “Si può tralasciare la questione della funzionalità dell’edificio [...] la forma di questo monumento non è determinata da funzioni pratiche”.⁵⁴² How accurate is this? We might argue, instead, that in terms of patterns of movement to and through the imperial fora, the form of the Porticus Absidata is inseparably related to its function.

Bauer considered it unlikely that the portico was closed to movement by any form of wall, in the absence of a continuous foundation that connected with the other standing elements (and in the absence of a continuous wall on the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment), preferring to envisage an open colonnade.⁵⁴³ Where the *porticus* met the street there is evidence for low marble steps between the two, through which access to the centre of the *porticus* was granted. Bauer was unable to confirm if this step continued across the length of the façade, because it was only partially uncovered. His reconstruction carries this step across the entire width of the *porticus*, a measure which, if accurate, reflects the segregation of vehicle traffic from the busy streets onto which it faced (fig. 48).

⁵⁴² Bauer 1983: 181.

⁵⁴³ Bauer 1983: 116.

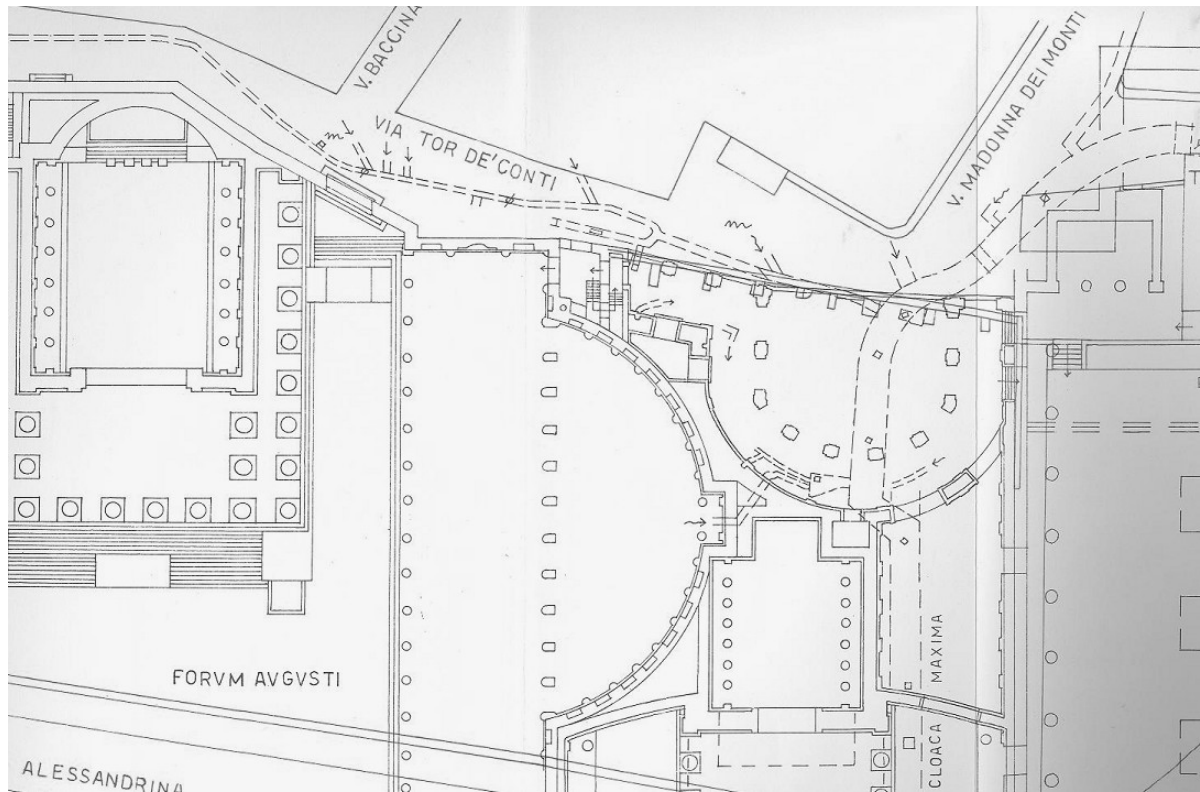


Figure 48 Plan of the area of the Porticus Absidata in relation the street and sewer network (Bauer 1983: tav. A).

Furthermore, while unable to accept a wall around the central space, Bauer noted that three holes in the marble stylobate, ca. 50cm apart between the central columns in the northwest corner of the structure, indicated that provision was made for a gate of some kind – bringing to mind the depictions of such structures we have encountered in Chapter 3.⁵⁴⁴ This may have been the kind of *cancellus* or low trellis of the kind we see on the depiction of the *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*. Bauer linked the provision of this gate to a relatively late change, of uncertain date but certainly after the first century A.D., when a large water basin was added into the central area of curving portico.⁵⁴⁵ This had the physical effect of removing the cavity in the horseshoe-shaped portico and the visual effect of transforming the appearance of the structure again so that it resembled a *nymphaeum* that terminated the street network. However, while the addition of water might be a late change to the space, the gate

⁵⁴⁴ Bauer 1983: 118.

⁵⁴⁵ Bauer 1983: 183.

may have been part of the original design. Bauer was unsure whether this gate or fence should be extended all the way around the *porticus*, because the marble slab into which the cuttings were made was the only surviving part of the stylobate or the marble floor of the internal pathway.⁵⁴⁶ It is more probable that the cuttings extended between each pillar rather than just at this location. If connected to the water, perhaps as a safety measure, it makes no sense to have a fence at just this one point. If it dates to an earlier period, it makes equally little sense for controlling access, should the remainder of the *porticus* have been open. Arguably, this is the *raison d'être* of the Porticus Absidata, so we should not consider it unlikely that the low fence defined the space from its inception.

The *porticus* replaced *tabernae* which crowded the *Argiletum* and the street that ran across from the rear of the Forum Augustum. There are identifiable groups of structures on either side of where we might locate the street section of the *Argiletum*, according to the course of the *cloaca Maxima*. The most significant group of these, for this discussion, was uncovered beneath the Porticus Absidata in 1941 (fig. 49). Excavations revealed a group of brick-constructed *tabernae*, of regular size and orientation and belonging to the same unit. This unit was defined by a shared central wall and at least one of the projecting *tabernae* walls was mirrored on the other side of this divide. The orientation of this block of *tabernae* is north-south, and appears to be related to the street which descended the hill behind the Forum Augustum and continued toward the later Porticus Absidata.

⁵⁴⁶ Bauer 1983: 117.

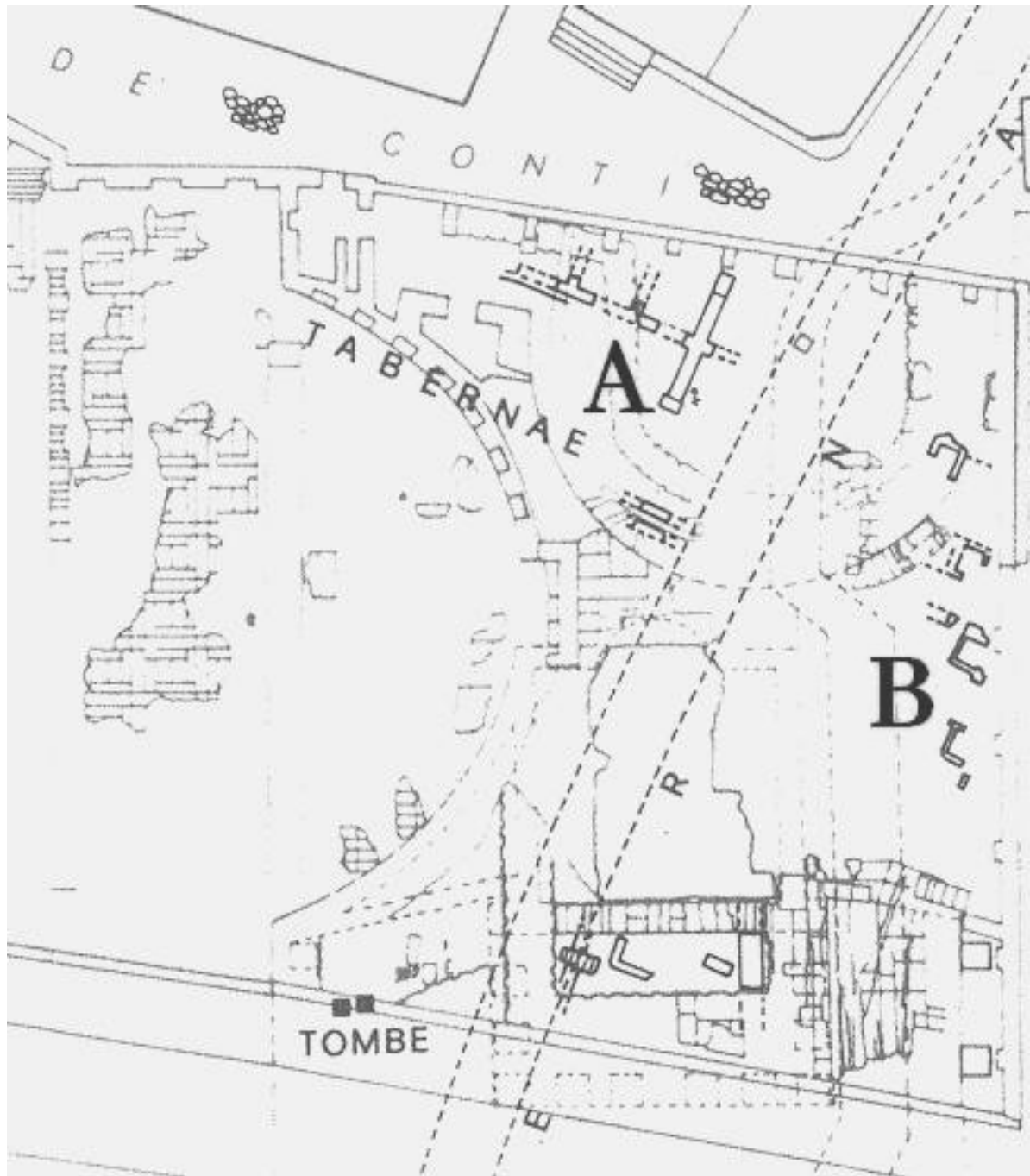


Figure 49 Location of pre-Flavian structures around the Porticus Absidata and Forum Nervae. Tortorici reconstructs the line of the street as the dashed line from the top-right to the bottom-centre. A and B indicate the earlier *tabernae* (adapted from Tortorici 1991: tav. II).

Basalt paving has been found close to the *tabernae*. Tortorici dates this arrangement of structures to the late Julio-Claudian or early Flavian period, before the Flavianic arrangement

of the area of the *Templum Pacis*.⁵⁴⁷ Again, there is no sign of any damage in the fire which is often cited as the catalyst for the Domitianic redevelopment of the *Argiletum*. In considering these earlier *tabernae*, we must remember that their removal indicates not only the removal of commercial structures but of the infrastructures of movement to which they were originally disposed.

The area of these *tabernae* was covered by the *porticus*, and a dark and narrow passage led to the Forum Augustum from within this space, emerging in the northeast corner of the earlier forum (fig. 50). The steps visible in the photograph would, in antiquity, have been obscured by the arch that marked the exit of the Forum Augustum. This would also have obscured the *aedis Martis Ultoris*. This is not a transitional space like those discussed around the Forum Romanum in Chapter 3. Rather, it is reminiscent of a service-passage of the kind Macaulay Lewis notes in portico structures such as the *Porticus Liviae* and which contributed to her suggestion that they were not spaces of through movement.⁵⁴⁸

This is so far the only identified connection between the area of the Forum Nervae and the Forum Augustum, despite suggestions that the former functioned to link the other fora. The through movement potential of this space is not only limited to pedestrians from within the Porticus Absidata, it would have been virtually invisible to anyone passing by, being further overshadowed by the double-storey *porticus* reconstructed by Bauer. In the opposite direction, a flight of four steps from within the *porticus* gave access to the northwest corner of the *Templum Pacis*. Again, the transition from one space to the other revealed itself in a peripheral location within the other fora.

⁵⁴⁷ Tortorici 1991: 52.

⁵⁴⁸ Macaulay Lewis 2007: 99.



Figure 50 Passageway from within the Porticus Absidata, to the Forum Augustum. (Photo = author).

The late-first century A.D. represents the most important phase in the development of the *media urbis*, certainly in terms of how new constructions affected the through movement potential of existing spaces. As noted, while the Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum involved

the clearance of existing properties (residential and commercial), neither forum reconfigured movement to and through this area of the city. The through movement potential of the Forum Romanum, discussed at length in Chapter 3, would have been unchanged by the construction of the new Julio-Claudian fora. The picture is very different in the Flavian period, where first the construction of the Templum Pacis truncated the route of the *Corneta* in the mid-70s A.D. and then the construction of the Forum Nervae obliterated the *Argiletum* in the mid-90s.

The impact of the earlier change on the through movement potential of the wider space is perhaps less clear than the impact of the latter. The course of the *Corneta*, leaving the Forum Romanum between the *Basilica Aemilia* and the later *aedes Divi Antonini et Divae Faustinae*, is clear but its destination is less so. It is not clear, for instance, whether this street merely provided access to the *Macellum* or the *Forum Cuppedinis*, or whether it continued northwards towards the *Subura*. The description that it was where the Templum Pacis later stood would suggest that it continued across the area occupied by the later precinct, and so the Templum Pacis can be read as the removal of a street rather than simply the alteration of what particular structure closed the dead-end. This change will have led to a greater volume of movement on the street of the *Argiletum* itself, since the removal of alternative routes necessarily redirects traffic to those that remain. Because of this, the intensity of interaction suggested by Martial's epigrams should be seen in the context of a street that was most likely busier than it had ever been. Accordingly, the blockage of the *Argiletum* two decades later must be seen not only as the blockage of a thoroughfare into the Forum Romanum from the *Subura*, but the blockage of the *only* thoroughfare into the Forum Romanum from the *Subura*.

With this in mind, we can appreciate the extent to which the creation of the Forum Nervae and the Porticus Absidata radically changed patterns of movement in this immediate area, and between the areas that had formerly been connected by the *Argiletum*. One of the most important contributions from the archaeological investigation of the area in recent decades has been to clarify that neither the Templum Pacis nor the Forum Nervae were built

on land that had been devastated by fire, thus removing the residential and commercial function of the street and providing the opportunity for new developments. Had this been the case, the Flavian transformations would be read in a different light: in the context of urban regeneration (albeit a different aspect of urbanism, from the quotidian to the monumental). However, while we cannot deny the destructive nature of the fires in A.D. 64 and A.D. 80, it is clear that the area initially redeveloped according to its earlier functions. In other words, the fires destroyed habitation and commerce, but the imperial fora replaced the properties which themselves developed after the conflagrations. This important point means that the changes to the area, including the changes to movement and traffic, must be understood as part of a more concerted programme of urban change – and the related urban disposition that drove that change – rather than as the opportunistic regeneration of a charred neighbourhood. This becomes even more apparent when we consider that the development of the Forum Nervae and the Porticus Absidata was just one area that was being remodelled under Domitian. That these changes were less the result of a catalyst and more part of a larger programme of urban change is clear when we consider that the area to the west of the Forum Augustum: the area of the later Forum Traiani and the Markets of Trajan, the impact of which on movement and traffic we can now consider.

4.1.3 A.D. 95-113: The Forum Traiani and the Markets of Trajan

A summary of evidence for the relationship between the Forum Traiani and surrounding streets faces the caveat that pre-Domitianic evidence will in all likelihood not have survived. As with the Forum Iulium, where it is hard to distinguish pre-Caesarian footprints because of the levelling for the piazza, the Forum Traiani was constructed in an area that had previously been at a higher level than the monument which replaced it. Nevertheless, what evidence we do have points to the truncation of some streets and the replacement of others with routes that were either inaccessible or were dead-ends. The statement by Carcopino which introduced

this chapter, in which Trajan was praised for opening new streets to traffic, is inaccurate. Although the forum was dedicated by Trajan, it was begun by Domitian, and there are increasing signs that the Markets were also begun earlier than has hitherto been appreciated.⁵⁴⁹ Several changes highlight revisions in the original designs – such as the Trajanic blockage of a Domitianic *nymphaeum* below the *Terrazza Domiziana* – but it is important that we consider the first phase truncation of existing streets as a legacy of Domitianic clearance. Therefore, although the plan of the forum is of A.D. 113, the relationship between that space and the earlier street network – and the related ‘urban disposition’ that this reveals – stems from a similar phase to the Forum Nervae and Porticus Absidata, discussed above.

4.1.3.1 The streets through the Markets of Trajan: considering vehicles and pedestrians

A number of important articles since the 1990s have questioned the canonical interpretation of the Markets of Trajan, based on a close examination of the evidence for movement and traffic in order to interpret the function of particular spaces. These recent discussions demonstrate that the intended use of a building or space can be uncovered through the examination of movement as a key variable, not a secondary consequence incidental to the original designs and intentions. Accordingly, the traditional interpretation of the intended use of the building and street complex on the terraced south slope of the Quirinal can and must be revised (for clarity, however, this thesis still refers to the complex by its ‘traditional’ name). Significant for this present work are the earlier articles by Marco Bianchini.⁵⁵⁰ In re-examining the identification of rooms and spaces throughout the complex, Bianchini repeatedly emphasised the manner in which movement through the multi-level structure was controlled. The

⁵⁴⁹ Domitian’s involvement is not only confirmed by archaeological data (see below) but in texts, e.g. Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 13.5, adhuc Romae a Domitiano coepta forum.

⁵⁵⁰ Bianchini 1991 and 1992.

limitations on movement convinced him to consider the building not as a *macellum* but as offices, perhaps in part for the *procurator Fori Divi Traiani*.⁵⁵¹ In short, the complex was off limits to vehicle transport; enforced through the absence of facilitating ramps and a distinct lack of direct communication with the wider urban street network. The only point of access from the outside space, other than the main entrance which led to internal space, rather than being a thoroughfare, was from the area of the *vicus Longus* toward the *Subura*. This entrance/exit was marked by a high, steep travertine stairway, still partially preserved, at the end of modern via di Campo Carleo (fig. 51).⁵⁵²

The lower street to which this stairway led did not continue, as might have been assumed, toward the *Campus Martius*, but was apparently blocked by a wall adjacent to the *Basilica Ulpia*.⁵⁵³ This, as well as other “barriere insormontabili” more accurately reflect the patterned movement in this area – which is so often obscured by the enigmatic carriageways that run across the slope of the hill – namely, that most routes through the Markets were complex and manageable only on foot.⁵⁵⁴ Lucrezia Ungaro has recently continued this theme, with particular attention to the via Biberatica.⁵⁵⁵ This route, which ostensibly runs through the Markets and communicates between the *Subura* and the *Campus Martius*, is in fact ill suited to vehicular traffic. Although the basalt street is provided with sidewalks (fig. 52), this alone does not imply the necessary division between vehicles and pedestrians that allows us to say with confidence that both types of movement were present. Rather, on the consideration that

⁵⁵¹ This role, and an individual, Horatius Rogatus, are suggested in an inscription discovered in 1992 around the Torre delle Milizie (*CIL* VI. 41285a, SUCCURA HORATI ROGATI PRO(CURATORIS)/[A]UG(USTI) N(OSTRI) FOR(I) DIVI TRA(AINI) EX IG [...]). It is likely that any such office would be housed in a building in communication with the Forum Traiani but the lack of suitably identifiable spaces within the forum itself suggests that the office was most likely in the neighbouring complex.

⁵⁵² Bianchini 1991: 111–2.

⁵⁵³ This is a claim the importance of which has been masked by the relative silence it has received since it was first noted in Giuliani 1983–87: 27.

⁵⁵⁴ Bianchini 1992: 156.

⁵⁵⁵ Ungaro 2005.

the units were managed as individual properties, the presence of sidewalks may reflect the division of public and private property (and associated maintenance responsibilities).



Figure 51 View of the stairs that defined the eastern end of the street adjacent to the Forum Traiani (Bianchini 1992: fig. 17).



Figure 52 The via Biberatica (view looking east). Despite the provision of sidewalks to the left and right of the carriageway, the absence of wheel ruts betrays the pedestrian nature of this space, as do ramps and stairs out of view. (Photo = author).

The via Biberatica lacks any signs of vehicle wear – either kerbstones or wheel ruts – and the route is in any case mediated through ramps, stairs and what Ungaro terms “punti di controllo”.⁵⁵⁶ Overall, the impression we now have from an investigation of the practicalities of how this space functioned, is one in which the via Biberatica was “poco idoneo alla via carrabile principale del “centro commerciale di Roma antica””.⁵⁵⁷ Close attention to the ways in which movement was hindered through this site allows us to reframe our understanding of the intended use, since these were conscious design decisions. This is true at both a local level within the site and at a city-wide level.

⁵⁵⁶ Ungaro 2005: 212, “dotata di punti di controllo, ampi marciapiedi, priva di paracarri, per nulla segnata dal passaggio di veicolo con ruote”.

⁵⁵⁷ Ungaro 2005: 213.

In the Markets of Trajan we see that discrimination over patterns of movement and movement types are accounted for in the design of the structure. In negotiating the substantial elevation changes throughout the terraced complex, stairs are used throughout. Ramps could have been used but were not. The significance of this design triviality is that whereas a ramp can be used by both vehicles and pedestrians, stairs are reserved for the later. Stairs are exclusive in a manner in which ramps are not. Therefore, we see a deliberate decision to exclude vehicle traffic and establish a space that was rigorously pedestrianised. This is the realisation of the 'nature' of a space, and of the 'urban disposition' that produced it. Having considered the evidence for what types of movement could use this space, we can now consider the connectivity of the complex with the wider city, the better to understand issues of through movement potential. In short, did these spaces function as nodes in the city, or were they closed to the urban environment around them?

4.1.3.2 The streets through the Markets of Trajan: relationship to the wider street network

While it is common to see the course of the via Biberatica extended northwards away from the complex (see below), it did not blend seamlessly into the intersecting southwest-northeast street that ran along the course of the modern via IV Novembre. This was clarified by excavations that showed that the ancient level of the via IV Novembre was higher than the via Biberatica. Despite the descent of the former street as it moved southwest, where the two streets met there was a distinct difference in height. This was mediated by stairs.⁵⁵⁸ Significantly, the road on the course of via IV Novembre and now exposed immediately in front of the Markets of Trajan was an earlier, pre-existing thoroughfare. That the via Biberatica is significantly lower, despite apparently defining an urban area beyond this region,

⁵⁵⁸ Bianchini 1992: 155–6.

suggests that changes to the area in the terracing of the Quirinal may have preserved some elements of the basic street network, when viewed on a birds-eye plan, but that this street network was no longer connected as it had been before. The through movement potential of this space would therefore have been remodelled. This vindicates the need to examine the minutiae of street systems; what seems connected on the plan may not have been on the ground, and if it was this was for only certain types of movement: pedestrians.

Another apparent urban thoroughfare that is deserving of closer attention is the street to the immediate north of the forum, between it and the Markets of Trajan. This skirts the hemicycle of the Forum Traiani and was the evidence from which Gismondi extrapolated his ‘ring-road’ for the imperial fora, discussed in Chapter 1. The street was paved with basalt, and gave access to the Forum Traiani at both ends of the long portico around the forum piazza. We have already mentioned that this street was accessed by steep stairs (from the east) and was thus inaccessible to vehicle traffic – or equids or litters, for that matter – from the direction of the *Subura*. However, it has, along with the via Biberatica, been posited as a route of city-wide importance, connecting the *Subura* with the *Campus Martius* around the terraced ground at the foot of the Quirinal. The lower street has received less attention than the via Biberatica, but what has been suggested is of importance for our broader discussion, in particular for understanding the through movement potential of both the Markets and the Forum Traiani.

Following the discovery of first fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* in 1562, several folios of reproduction drawings were made. The *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* 3439 contains the most substantial group of these and includes the area around the Forum Traiani, specifically around the northeast apse of the *Basilica Ulpia* and the lower levels of the Markets of Trajan.⁵⁵⁹ Giuliani drew attention to the detail on the drawing that appears to show a wall

⁵⁵⁹ For the area around the forum and Markets of Trajan, see *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439, F.14.2 = Carettoni *et al.* 1960, plate 3 and 28 = Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* V-9-29a.

closing the street just after it opens through a small door into the portico of the Forum Traiani (fig. 53).⁵⁶⁰ There are several issues that we might develop from this observation. Let us briefly consider the implications of Giuliani's suggestion that: "Questa strada [...] non proseguiva neppure oltre quello che vediamo oggi, ma si arrestava contro una parete dopo aver lasciato un accesso al foro".⁵⁶¹

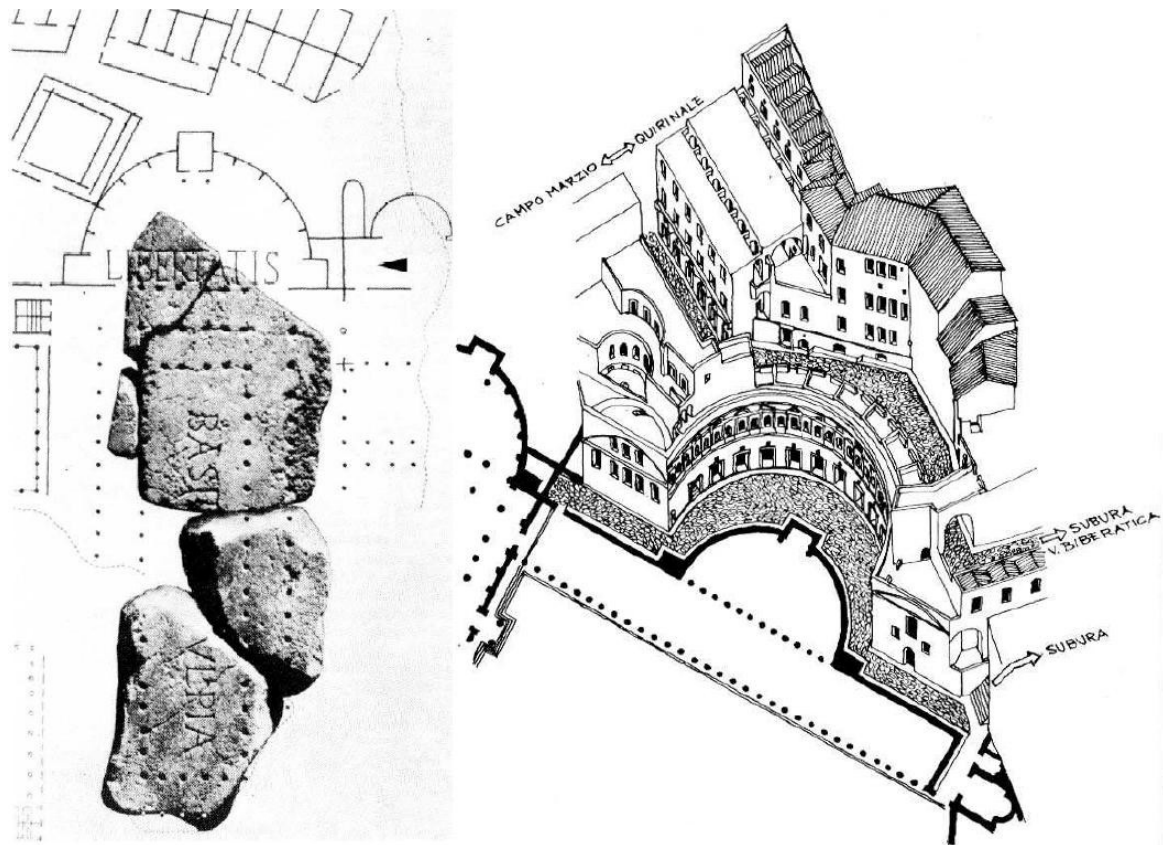


Figure 53 Fragments and codex copies of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (left) and axonometric reconstruction of the complex including the boundary wall by the *Basilica Ulpia* (right) (adapted from Giuliani 1983-87: figs. 3 and 4).

It has been suggested that the street that runs around the outside of the Forum Traiani can be read as the 'resulting space' between the two structures either side of it.⁵⁶² Its lower course is

⁵⁶⁰ Giuliani 1983-87.

⁵⁶¹ Giuliani 1983-87: 27.

⁵⁶² Critiqued by Giuliani 1983-87: 27.

clearly related to the Forum Traiani, following the wall of the large hemicycle, and that it is dependent upon it in such a way allows us to suggest that it postdates the organisation of the piazza and porticoes. It is also defined by the lower levels of the Markets. Recent investigations of the structures along via di Campo Carleo have demonstrated that the rooms on the north of this street, overlooking the stairs toward the *Subura*, are Domitianic, not Trajanic.⁵⁶³ These Domitianic rooms thus define the northern extent of the street that descends and snakes around the hemicycle. We might further suggest that to the north of the street, the nearby Republican houses are oriented according to the angle formed by Salita del Grillo *and* the existing route of via di Campo Carleo.⁵⁶⁴ To the south, the orientation of the house of Sextus Pompey might suggest that a street ran on this alignment, from the junction north of the Forum Augustum toward the area of the later Forum Traiani, since at least the late Republic.

The new dating of the structures north of via di Campo Carleo implies that this part of the street – and its extrapolated direction – was defined before this earlier period, and the construction respected its orientation and its basic dimensions. The fact that the road drops away severely, with the consequent need for the construction of the stairs, allows us to suggest that the section between the two Domitianic structures dates back as far as the late Republic (according to the *domus* to which it is contiguous and vice versa), while the section that runs around the Forum Traiani is a later addition, suitably redesigned to follow the contours of the new monument, following the levelling of this saddle under Domitian.⁵⁶⁵ The chronological implications are that the creation of the Forum Traiani did not intrude upon the lower street as an existing thoroughfare, since it was constructed *after* the forum itself. However, it modified a predecessor which extended in this general direction from the *Subura*.

⁵⁶³ Bianchini 2005: esp. 240–7 and 264–7 on the Flavian pottery and brick-stamp evidence.

⁵⁶⁴ See Meneghini 2003, esp. figs 17 and 21 on the identification of paving and foundations for late republican domus in the area.

⁵⁶⁵ Bianchini 2005: 256.

Returning to the broader issue discussed at the start of this chapter, the new street is designed space, based on contemporary approaches to the construction of accessibility. Giuliani's suggestion that it was a dead-end therefore implies that this street was not only inaccessible to anything other than pedestrian footfall but that it did not have any significant role as an urban thoroughfare. Its predecessor almost certainly had such a role. We can note the differences between the pre- and post-Domitianic/Trajanic routes as: the former would have been accessible to vehicles, while the latter was clearly not; the former would have connected with another street, while the latter did not. This street reveals a shift away from the through movement potential of urban spaces, towards greater restrictions on movement. This represents a very different use of space to that which characterised the street and adjacent structures in the late Republic and through until the last decades of the first century A.D. We will return to the implications of this point in the general discussion at the end of this chapter.

4.1.3.3 Reconstructing the pre-existing street system around the imperial fora

In Chapter 1, we encountered the street discovered by Giacomo Boni beneath the courtyard of Trajan's Column.⁵⁶⁶ It is worth returning to it here as it presents the best evidence for the way in which the Forum Traiani intruded on and modified existing urban space. The area can be tied to an earlier, more widespread road network beyond the imperial fora, which this section will elucidate. Boni's street attracted attention because of the methodological importance it has for how historians treat the validity of archaeological and textual evidence. The inscription on Trajan's column, dated to A.D. 113, had been thought to refer to the extent of the original hill which was cleared for the later monuments.⁵⁶⁷ According to the understanding

⁵⁶⁶ Boni 1907: 366 and fig. 4.

⁵⁶⁷ *CIL* VI 960, AD DECLARANDUM QUANTAE ALTITUDINIS MONS ET LOCUS TANT(IS OPE)RIBUS SIT EGESTUS. Cass. Dio (68.16.3) offers a similar summary: καὶ ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἅμα δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου· παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου

of this text, Trajan had cleared the hill that ran between the Quirinal and the Capitoline and had built his forum on the levelled ground. However, Boni's excavations beneath the column courtyard in 1906 tell a different story.⁵⁶⁸



Figure 54 The vaulting beneath the courtyard of Trajan's column, showing pre-Trajanic walls at the lower left (Lancaster 1999: fig. 3).

Boni demonstrated that the column had not been constructed on newly-levelled ground but was built over an earlier street. The street of polygonal *selce* blocks was 1.35m below the level of the courtyard above.⁵⁶⁹ Boni compared the fabric of the street to that which was

ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδινήν κατεσκεύασε.

⁵⁶⁸ Boni himself, in contrast with Cassius Dio, suggested that the inscription referred to the terracing for the Markets, 1907: 405–6 and 1907–08: 93–8. It is surprising that Boni's excavations have received relatively little treatment other than to highlight the inaccurate interpretation of the column's inscription. This is how one finds reference to Boni's excavation in Anderson's work, ostensibly a 'historical topography' (1984: 154). The street has recently been revisited by Bruno & Bianchi 2006.

⁵⁶⁹ Boni 1907: 389.

truncated by the *Arcus Augusti* in the Forum Romanum, discovered in 1904 and of at least Republican origin, as was discussed in Chapter 3. Later excavations by Ricci, between 1928–1934 brought to light the remains of brick-faced walls, extant to 1.30m high, which were aligned so as to form a portico parallel to the street on the north side (fig. 54).⁵⁷⁰

Beyond this, inside the portico, were a series of rooms of equal size; probably *tabernae* flanking the street (fig. 55A and 55B). The street lay slightly south of the portico discovered by Ricci: close enough and on the same alignment that they are clearly related but far enough apart that they were probably separated by a sidewalk (fig. 55C). Owing to the nature of their construction, the rooms north of the portico were assigned to the second-half of the first century A.D., giving a *terminus ante quem* for the street on which they are aligned.⁵⁷¹ La Rocca has suggested that this type of commercial occupation spanned from the second century B.C. until the levelling of the area in the first century A.D.⁵⁷² The Julio-Claudian building (which appears homogeneous) was built over the remains of a first century B.C. *opus incertum* wall on the same orientation.⁵⁷³

The extent of the paving Boni uncovered was limited – 1.7m in length and 0.7m in width – but its relationship to adjacent, aligned structures allows one to extrapolate its course beyond this small sample. In this regard, we can tie it to wider patterns of movement that existed in the area before the Trajanic interventions. Boni's street runs toward the later Piazza Magnanapoli, an important road junction toward the south of the Quirinal. Salita del Grillo continued towards it and the *porta Sanqualis* has recently been identified there.⁵⁷⁴ The street ascended to the northeast at a gradient of 3.70%, and it reasonable to infer that it continued,

⁵⁷⁰ The excavations are unpublished, but noted in Colini 1933, and discussed by Amici, 1982: 58–61

⁵⁷¹ Maffei 1995: 357.

⁵⁷² La Rocca 1998: 161.

⁵⁷³ Packer 1997b: 247, n.3.

⁵⁷⁴ Not, as on Lanciani, 1901: plate 22, the *porta Fontinalis*. See Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani, 2007: fig. 9.

perhaps at a steeper incline, toward the Quirinal.⁵⁷⁵ In this direction, we can note the existence of other streets and structures that help reconstruct movement around the area.

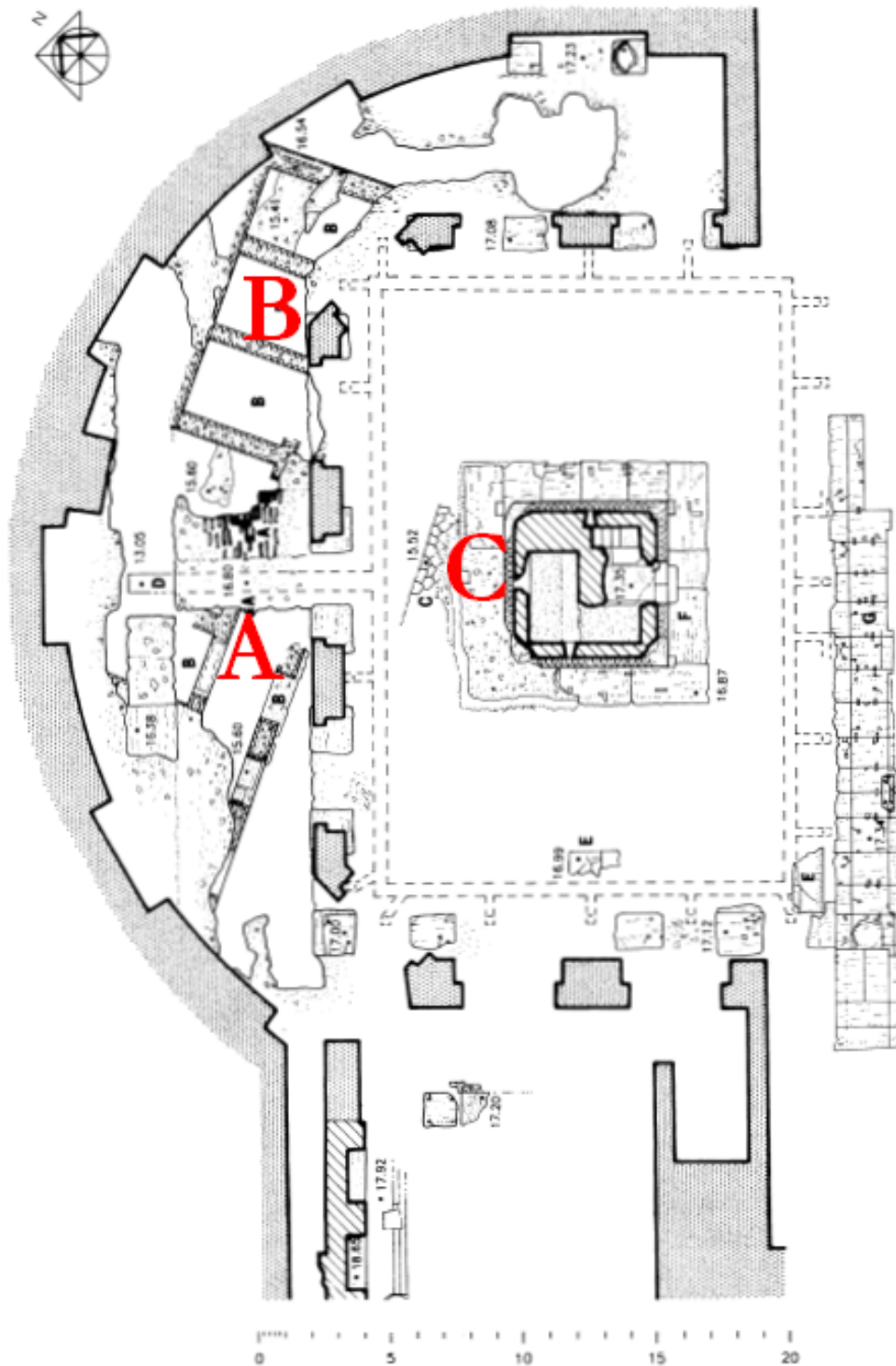


Figure 55 Plan of the area around Trajan's Column. A and B) the walls found by Corrado Ricci in 1934; C) street paving uncovered by Giacomo Boni in 1906 (adapted from Amici 1982: fig. 92).

⁵⁷⁵ Boni 1907: 389.

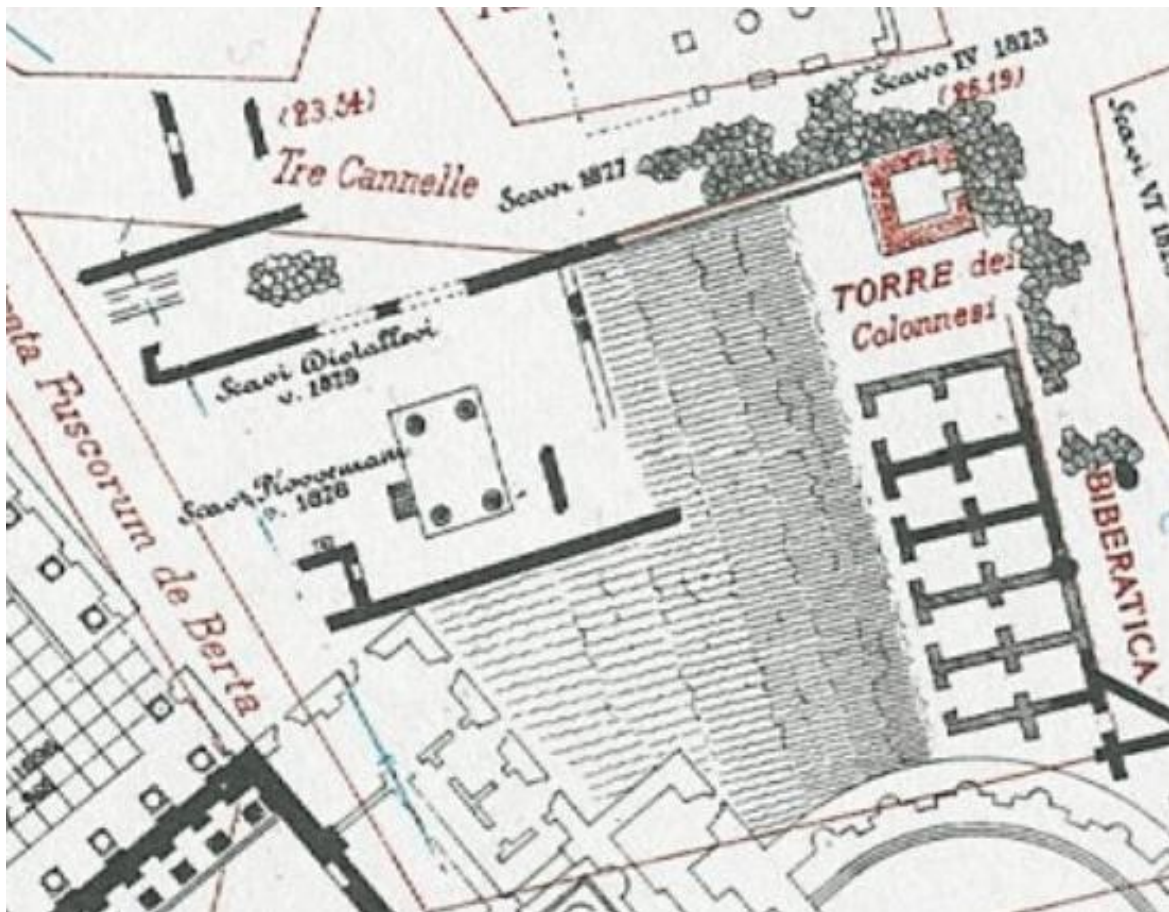


Figure 56 Detail showing structures and paving excavated in the nineteenth century which align with the discoveries by Boni (1906) and Ricci (1928-34) (Lanciani 1901: plate 22).

Lanciani's plan (fig. 56.) shows numerous items of interest in the area north of the eastern hemicycle of the *Basilica Ulpia*, in the space outside of either the forum or Markets.⁵⁷⁶ A series of excavations throughout the nineteenth century shed light on the organisation of the area. In 1823, excavations around the southeast corner of Piazza delle Tre Cannelle revealed extensive paving around the Torre dei Colonnati. This appears to have fitted into the angle formed by the junction of two basalt streets in antiquity. In 1827, further paving was discovered along with walls, defining its southern limit. In 1879, yet more paving was uncovered, along with walls on both sides of the street, thus defining its width at this point. Earlier in the century, in 1826, excavations had uncovered more walls that shared the same alignment as the street under Salita dei Tre Cannelle and the porticoed *tabernae* later

⁵⁷⁶ Lanciani 1901: plate 22.

uncovered by Ricci, adjacent to Boni's street. This evidence all has the same alignment as the street uncovered by Boni in 1906.

In summary, the archaeological material that has survived in this area shares the same alignment southwest to northeast. A Renaissance drawing of the *Forma Urbis Romae* gives further indication of the street network that existed around this area in the late-second and early-third century A.D.⁵⁷⁷ This shows a straight street extending out to the left of the image (fig 57A). The street that runs to the top of the image is aligned with the street uncovered by Boni, and may confirm the extension of its original course in this direction. The Markets of Trajan are accessed from this street and are not distinguished from the surrounding urban network. Opposite the opening to the Markets of Trajan is a straight, unbroken line depicting the border of the street, implying that another street did not approach the Markets directly opposite its main entrance (fig. 57B).

⁵⁷⁷ We can see in the reproduction in Carettoni *et al* (1960: plate 3) that the extension of the streets are traced in pencil beyond the areas in ink

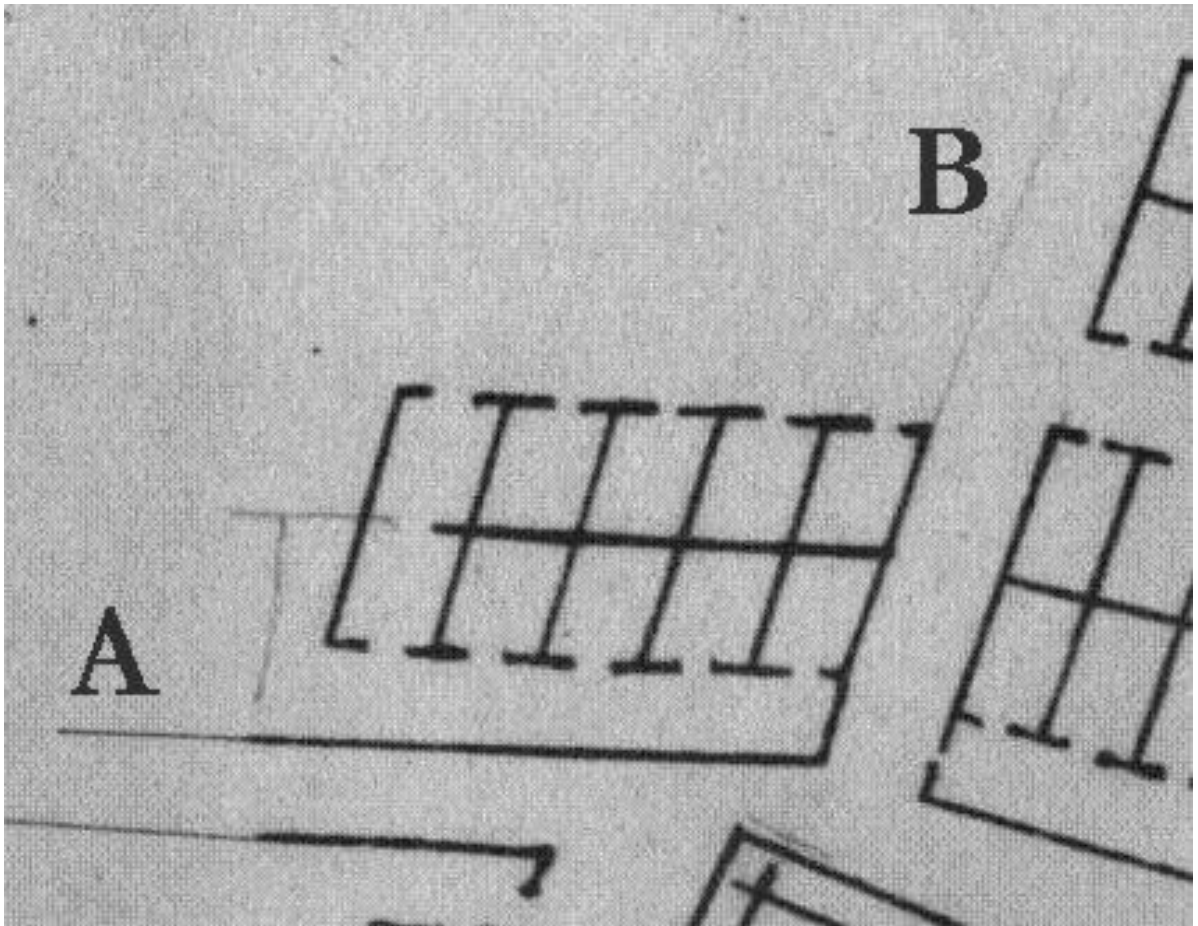


Figure 57 Detail from *Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 F.14.2* showing extensions of streets from the forum and Markets of Trajan.

Boni's street accords well with the layout of this area. What about in the opposite direction? It is here that the *vicus Pallacinae* might be of value for reconstructing the extent of the regular street network around the Forum Traiani.⁵⁷⁸ Extensive antique paving and drainage have been recovered along the whole course of the latter, running across the south of the *Campus Martius*, from the *Circus Flaminius* across to the *via Lata*.⁵⁷⁹ It is likely that this, clearly the most extensive street in the area and thus the most likely to give its name to the local

⁵⁷⁸ A scholiast on Cicero (*pro Rosc. Am.* 18) comments that the *balneas pallacinas* were *in vico Pallacinae*. A *porticus Pallacinis* was mentioned in the eighth century A.D. (Platner & Ashby 1929: 381-2) and remains of an ancient street have been found at via degli Astalli. See Manacorda and Zanini 1989. On the *vicus Pallacinae* in general, see Lega 1999.

⁵⁷⁹ See Lanciani 1901: plate 21.

neighbourhood, was the *vicus Pallacinae*.⁵⁸⁰ We should not simply extend lines on Lanciani's plan in the absence of evidence for the entire course, but the street discovered by Boni shares the same alignment and is close enough that we might suggest it was a continuation of this route.⁵⁸¹ This would therefore run from the *Circus Flaminius* to the area of Piazza Magnanapoli on the Quirinal.

Indeed, other evidence suggests that this alignment was shared by other streets in the area beyond the imperial fora, so much so that we might recognise an extensive area of regularly oriented streets east of the *via Lata*. This appears to have three principal roads by which we can determine its alignment: 1) the *via Lata* itself; 2) the extension of the *via Biberatica*, which is parallel to the *via Lata*; 3) Boni's street under the Trajanic courtyard, an extension of the *vicus Pallacinae*. Within this area we have several other streets and walls that conform to the alignment.

Pier Luigi Tucci's new allocation of six related fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (517a-f) has significantly contributed to the understanding of the layout of the urban zone north of the imperial fora.⁵⁸² Tucci's identification begins with locating a distinct curve in an aqueduct on the plan as the curve in the *aqua Marcia* as it descends from the Quirinal toward the *Arx*, and the overlay of the fragments with the modern topography accords well. We can recognise at least two more streets on the same alignment between the boundaries formed by the *via Lata* and the extension of the *via Biberatica*, an alignment also followed by the turning of the aqueduct. Other streets, though not parallel, run broadly east-west, and at least one road runs approximately north to south. The predominant alignment of streets across this space continues to the north of the aqueduct, with three additional streets visible on the plan (fig. 58).

⁵⁸⁰ Lanciani's map shows paving parallel to but slightly north of Via Macel dei Corvi, which, in a fitting historical parallel, was destroyed in the 1920s for the Piazza Venezia and via dell'Impero.

⁵⁸¹ As in Dumser 2002: 187-8; La Rocca 2006: 141.

⁵⁸² Tucci 2006: esp. 71-3 and fig. 5.

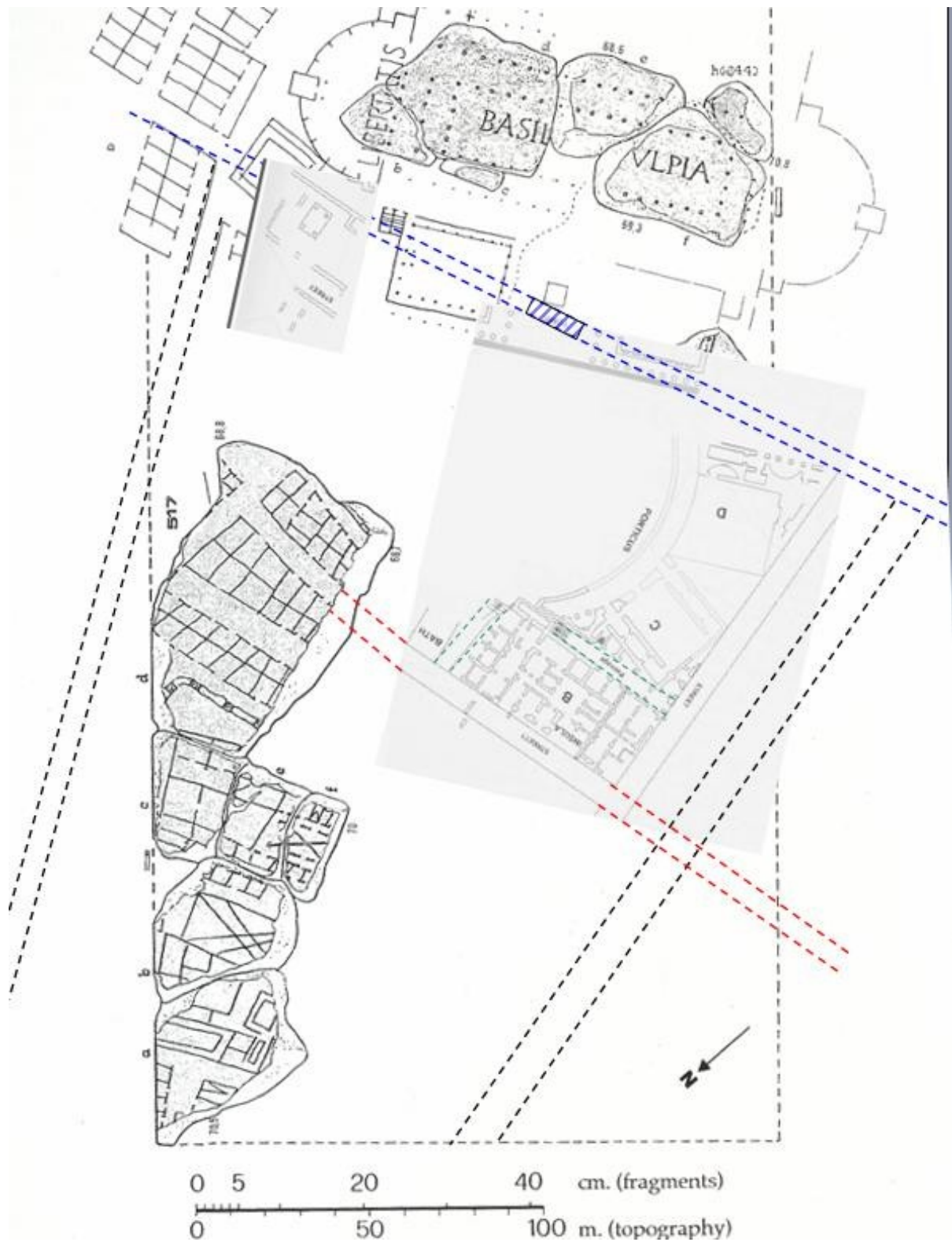


Figure 58 Reconstruction of evidence for streets north of the imperial fora, combining fragments of *FUR*, Boni's excavations, the streets within and around the Hadrianic *insula*, and Tucci's location of *FUR* fragments 517a-f.

Combined with the other evidence assembled above, this evidence suggests a relatively regular layout of streets in the area north of the Forum Traiani. This takes us into the debate

over the location of the *Templum Divi Traiani*. Briefly, in recent years the debate has revolved around: the location of the temple, either at the north or the south of the forum; the architectural form of the temple, based on excavated columns; how that temple related to the rest of the forum complex; and whether or not the *templum* identified a particular location.⁵⁸³ Interesting for the present discussion is how the excavated evidence conforms to the picture of the street network discussed above.

To begin, we can add a street leading north from a right angle with the so-called *vicus Pallacinae*, shortly east of its junction with the *via Lata*, to which it runs approximately parallel.⁵⁸⁴ This street therefore runs at a right angle to Boni's street and the paving on Lanciani's plan.

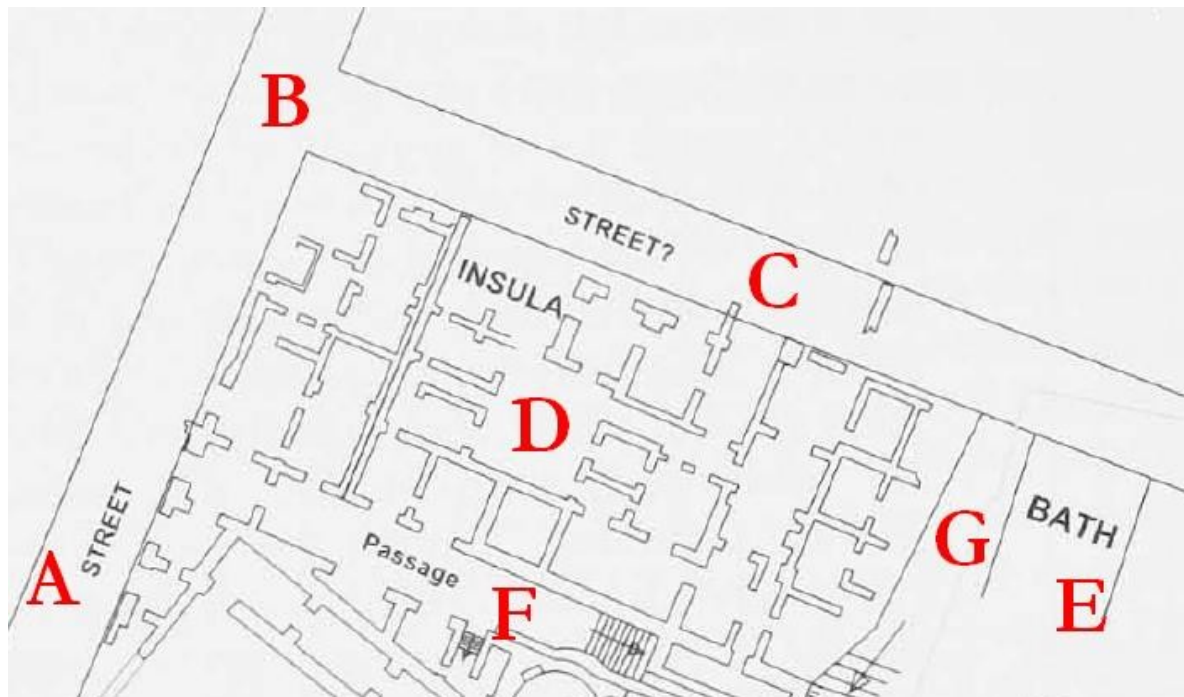


Figure 59 Hadrianic *insula* and streets north of the Forum Traiani (adapted from Claridge, 2007: fig. 9a).

⁵⁸³ For the reconstruction of those columns as a temple, see Packer 2003, or as a propylon entrance, see Meneghini 1998. The relationship between the temple complex and the rest of the forum is discussed by Claridge 2007. La Rocca 1998: 165 and 2004: 232 doubts that the term *templum* refers to a specific temple but was instead used to refer to the entire Trajanic forum complex, and as such has no specific topographic value.

⁵⁸⁴ Recorded by Gatti in 1934, see La Rocca 2006: fig. 20.

This street formed the western boundary of a well defined area that lay beneath the Palazzo Assicurazione Generale (fig. 58 and fig. 59A).⁵⁸⁵ The *insula* (fig 59D) appears to date to the time of Hadrian.⁵⁸⁶ To the north of the *insula*, a well defined street ran in the direction of the Quirinal from a junction with this western boundary street (fig 59B and 59C). A third century A.D. bath building was aligned according to both the *insula* and the streets that surrounded it (fig. 59E), and was separated from the *domus* by a north-south street (fig. 59G). A similar passage defined the south of the *insula*, running west to east (fig. 59F).

This *insula* stands to the northwest of the area currently defined as the *platea Traiani*. Meneghini envisaged the *platea* to be an open space marking a grand approach to the Forum Traiani from the *via Lata*, extending some seventy metres north of the forum, with a similar width.⁵⁸⁷ The *platea* stood two metres below the level of the paved courtyard of Trajan's column. Scatterings of walls present some further clarification of the chronology. Meneghini's plan of the area shows two walls, PV7 (a and b), beneath the usual location of the podium of the *Templum Divi Traiani*. One of these walls had a door. Packer suggested that this was an 'apartment house', demolished for the construction of the new temple.⁵⁸⁸ According to Meneghini's plan these walls appear to be aligned with the streets and other structures to the northwest.⁵⁸⁹ Meneghini therefore contested that there could not have been a temple podium here, and that the walls belonged to part of an *insula* in or near the *platea Traiani*.⁵⁹⁰ The presence of these walls, and this *insula* aligned on the Hadrianic *insula*

⁵⁸⁵ Excavated between 1902 and 1904. See Boatwright 1987: 85-7.

⁵⁸⁶ Claridge 2007: 69. Of twenty brick-stamps, 13 are Hadrianic, 3 pre-Hadrianic and 5 post-Hadrianic. The house of the *praefectus urbi* and *consul* was located here in A.D. 494. See La Rocca, 2006: 141.

⁵⁸⁷ Meneghini 1998.

⁵⁸⁸ Packer 2003: 122.

⁵⁸⁹ See Meneghini 1998: fig. 7, reproduced in Packer 2003: fig. 1 and Claridge 2007: fig. 1.

⁵⁹⁰ Meneghini 1996: 54, 78.

discussed above, is therefore taken as negative evidence for the location of the *Templum Divi Traiani* at this location.⁵⁹¹

Let us return to the intersections of the wider street network. Excavations of the Hadrianic *insula* revealed a street, 5 metres wide, that formed the southern boundary of the *insula*, containing lead drainage pipes.⁵⁹² The street is aligned on the same southwest to northeast orientation as all others that we have discussed in this area: that discovered by Boni, those marked on Lanciani's plan, and also those fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* as located by Tucci. The urban role of this street from the Hadrianic period is not clear. There is evidence of a door at the western end where it meets Gatti's street, while further east it rises into the *platea Traiani* by a flight of at least nine stairs. Here it intersects the north-south passage between the *insula* and the bath building, which also fed into the area via a flight of stairs. Those buildings to the south of the Hadrianic *insula*, excavated in 1933, are apparently Trajanic or Hadrianic. They are oriented according to the layout of the *Basilica Ulpia* on their south aspect, while to the west they respect the line of the pre-Trajanic street.

It has been suggested that when Hadrian constructed the *Templum Divi Traiani*, north of the forum, he also instigated the reorganisation of space beyond.⁵⁹³ It is accurate to say that the buildings known from the area between Trajan's Column and the *via Lata* are almost

⁵⁹¹ However, in a separate investigation, Packer corrected Meneghini's plan and has asserted that the walls at PV7 were in fact oriented on the north-south axis of the Forum Traiani, at a 90 degree angle (Packer 2003: 122. Compare Packer 2003: fig. 23 with Meneghini 1998: fig. 7). Elsewhere, as Claridge notes (2007: 75-6), Meneghini's plan does not mark the evidence uncovered by Boni or Ricci's excavations, and it also fails to accurately represent the orientation of the third century bath building in relation to the adjacent *insula* and street network. Claridge has returned to walls PV7 and has reported the recent discovery of a Hadrianic brick-stamp, *in situ*. The walls also rest on a travertine footing. This has led her to reconstruct a small, Hadrianic podium with four rooms, which she considers entirely independent of either a pre-Trajanic 'apartment house' or with the substructures of the later temple's podium.

⁵⁹² Labelled a 'passage' on Claridge 2007: fig. 9a.

⁵⁹³ Boatwright 1987: 87, fig. 17.

certainly post-Trajanic, and those structures discussed to the northeast appear of similar date.⁵⁹⁴ However, to what extent are Hadrianic buildings a corollary of Hadrianic organisation of this space? It seems entirely probable that the street network into which those Hadrianic *insulae* and *domus* fit is pre-Trajanic, and is part of the wider network laid out between the *via Lata* toward the Quirinal, to the north of the imperial fora. The orientation of Boni's street is key to this reconstruction. As we know, it was buried by Trajan's Column, which means its alignment and organising role in the urban landscape was not legible after A.D. 113. Yet the Hadrianic buildings are unquestionably aligned as part of a network to which Boni's street belongs. Therefore, the structural evidence from post-A.D. 113 must fit into a street network that was earlier; before the construction of the forum.

However, although those streets continued to define the network north of these interventions, it is apparent that the construction of the monument included the destruction and obliteration of at least some streets, perhaps most strikingly that which appears to be the principal, city-wide route - the *vicus Pallacinae*. The street covered by the courtyard of Trajan's Column was evidently part of a regular network, with paving uncovered to the north dating from at least the same period – at least the first century B.C. The construction of the Forum Traiani therefore not only involved extensive landscape levelling between the Quirinal and the Capitoline but also impinged upon one of the streets that defined the network beyond the imperial fora.

⁵⁹⁴ There was a second-century A.D. "wealthy house" near to the structures visible on Lanciani's plan. See Claridge 2007: 68, fig. 1, PV6.

4.2 MOVEMENT TO AND MOVEMENT THROUGH THE IMPERIAL FORA

Having examined the available evidence for the street networks before the imperial fora were constructed and the ways in which the imperial fora successively altered those networks of movement, it is now appropriate to consider in more detail the themes of movement to and movement through these new spaces. The previous section pieced together the fragmentary data to arrive at the current state of knowledge about the historical development of the imperial fora in relation to the pre-existing organisation of urban space. In this section, the implications of the changes we have observed are discussed, so that the archaeological data might be synthesised around a theme, namely, movement to and through the imperial fora. For the most part, this relies on inferring spatial practice from the archaeological and architectural remains. Compared to the amount of data available for the Forum Romanum, discussed in Chapter 3, we lack detailed textual evidence about the kinds of practices that characterised these new spaces. Texts are therefore of limited value in reconstructing patterns of movement – or rather, its representation – in the imperial fora. This in itself is instructive: the relative lack of such material may be culturally significant rather than being straightforward lacunae in our evidence. It might suggest that the imperial fora did not, as spaces, generate the kind of spatial practice that in turn generated the kind of representation of space that was so evident for the Forum Romanum, as suggested also in Chapter 2 as an explanation for the lack of references to the new spaces as *loci celeberrimi*. We can begin by assessing the relationship between the imperial fora with the wider urban street network, recalling that the Forum Romanum was characterised as a shortcut in city-wide patterns of movement and that many of the anecdotes for its spatial practice involved the unintentional coming together of different people on different urban routes. The through movement potential of the imperial fora was significantly different.

4.2.1 Moving Through: the through movement potential of the imperial fora

“[L]a maggiore arteria, la via Cavour, andava a morire contro la barriera del Foro Romano, e si pendeva in una dedalo di viuzzi”.⁵⁹⁵ This is the how the Soprintendenze ai Monumenti, Antonio Muñoz, characterised via Cavour during the construction of via dell’Impero in the 1920s and early 1930s. Via Cavour was one of the principal roads in the new layout of Rome from the new Stazione Termini in the 1870s. That it lacked a satisfactory termination or prestigious destination was deeply undesirable to his planning sensibilities. However, that this major arterial road should cut through half of the entire city, only to come to an end against the Forum Romanum is in many ways a fitting parallel with the urban thoroughfares of Rome in the first and second century A.D., following the construction of the imperial fora. La Rocca has recently suggested that the only regular feature of the approaches to the imperial fora is that they are all removed from existing traffic patterns and the main routes that surround them.⁵⁹⁶ It is this, above all else, that leads him to consider them ‘closed’ spaces. Paradoxically, then, some of the most ostensibly public spaces in ancient Rome are not public if measured by their degrees of integration with the natural movement of the city. We can pursue this issue in more detail here, and might characterise it as a change in the nature of fora from shortcuts to obstacles.⁵⁹⁷

In Chapter 3 it was noted that the Forum Romanum was linked to the concept of *in media urbis*. This was due to its position at the confluence of city-wide routes as well as its physical location in the valley between several of the city’s hills. Movement was a defining variable in this description and both social patterns of use as well as geographical location informed this sobriquet. In contrast, the imperial fora were largely divorced from the urban

⁵⁹⁵ Antonio Muñoz, 1932-3, cited in Coarelli 2006: 39-40.

⁵⁹⁶ La Rocca 2006: 142.

⁵⁹⁷ Newsome forthcoming 2011b discusses the distinction between shortcuts and obstacles in more detail.

fabric into which they were constructed, at times truncating the network of streets that had gone before.

We will recall the many obstacles that prevented movement through the Markets of Trajan and between the *Subura* and the *Campus Martius*. Bianchini, who observed many of those obstacles, commented that the location of the Markets of Trajan, if considered in economic terms, was nonsensical because their location essentially created a detour for other cross-city routes.⁵⁹⁸ Having already noted that the Markets were ill-suited to economic activity, we can add that they hinder other forms of activity because their role in urban space is not as a shortcut but as a destination. They are a space to be moved to, not moved through, and as such in terms of the street network around which they developed, they change from shortcuts to obstacles. Their location coupled with their segregation forces “un lungo e complicato periplo” in order to move around them.⁵⁹⁹

The impact of these physical changes to movement and space can be considered through a brief flight of imagination, which compares the picture of movement from Chapter 3 with that which has emerged from this chapter: a journey from the *Subura* to the Forum Boarium.⁶⁰⁰ Until the late-first century B.C., this route would have been a relatively straightforward one, using the Forum Romanum as a shortcut. The route begins in the *Subura*, at the convergence of the *vicus Patricius*, leading to/from the Viminal, and *clivus Suburanus*, leading to/from the Esquiline, at modern-day Piazza della Suburra.⁶⁰¹ It then passes to and through the street of the *Argiletum*, and between the Forum Augustum and Templum Pacis, crowded with residential and commercial properties, leading to the space between the Forum Iulium and the *Basilica Aemilia*. From there, one could cut through the Forum Romanum to

⁵⁹⁸ Bianchini 1992: 158.

⁵⁹⁹ Bianchini 1992: 158.

⁶⁰⁰ For other imagined journeys through Rome, see Favro 1996. Fridell Anter & Weilguni 2003 provide an imagined journey through Pompeii.

⁶⁰¹ See Malmberg 2009: 42 and fig. 2.

the *vicus Tuscus*, and thence to the Forum Boarium. The whole journey would be one of minimal effort: direct, with few turns, minimal change in elevation and suitable for both pedestrians and vehicles alike.

In the early-second century A.D. the route would be very different indeed. It would begin the same, heading southwest from the *Subura*, but it would meet the Porticus Absidata where previously had been a row of *tabernae*, flanking the junction of the *vicus Longus* and the *Argiletum*. At this point the pedestrian may have been subject to discretionary admission (see below). We do not know the criteria by which or the manner in which admission might be refused, but the arrangement of space was such that it was possible, and manageable. Vehicles had no option but to alter from the earlier route, as the Porticus Absidata would be impassable to them. At this junction, then, two options presented themselves for onward movement: left or right. Left would lead around the Templum Pacis and down the *clivus ad Carinas* to the *Sacra via*. As noted in Chapter 3, the gradient of the so-called *clivus* was minimal and would present few problems. But from the late-first century A.D. this route would have meant competing for space with the traffic associated with deliveries to Domitian's *Horrea Piperataria*. From the *Sacra via*, the *vicus Vestae* was closed to vehicles, so one had to pass north of and then in front of the *aedes Divius Iulius* to the *vicus Tuscus*; on the route which we noted in Chapter 3 because of its basalt paving, heavily marked with wheel ruts, in contrast to the unworn travertine paving alongside it.

Back to the Porticus Absidata, turning right would lead around the rear of the Forum Augustum to the junction of the modern Salita del Grillo and the via del Campo Carleo. The first left turn would cut through the middle of the imposing bulk of the Markets of Trajan and would be more immediately appealing; avoiding the incline of Salita del Grillo as it rose to Piazza del Magnanapoli. However, one would quickly reach the steep flight of stairs that dropped to the street between the forum and the markets, and in any case that street was probably a dead-end, leading only to the portico of the Forum Traiani. The next left, viewing

the basalt paving and apparent pedestrian sidewalks of the *via Biberatica* – approximately known from previous generations as the route between the *Subura* and the *Campus Martius* – might give the impression that you could take your vehicle that way, but this would be a false assumption because of the use of steps. So, you continue up the incline of *Salita del Grillo*, turning left at the next opportunity and passing the front of the Markets. To those who knew the city before this construction, the route would be familiar as the continuation of the *vicus Pallacinae*, which ran all the way from the *Circus Flaminius*. But the road now lies buried beneath Trajan's Column and another detour around the *plataea Traiani* may have been in order, before arriving at the end of the *via Lata*. Another choice then presented itself; either taking the *clivus Argentarius* and heading to and through the Forum Romanum or taking the longer but perhaps more straightforward route around the foot of the Capitoline, past the Forum Holitorium and then to the Forum Boarium: “un lungo e complicato periplo”, indeed.

This substantial detour is caused by a combination of two apparently trivial features: offset columns at the Porticus Absidata and steps at the Markets of Trajan. Such detours were longer, with more turns and more movement in directions away from that of your destination; calling into question issues of urban legibility. As a result of the construction of the imperial fora, the through movement potential, natural movement and distance minimisation available to routes in this wide area were all significantly changed. The imperial fora were not just the aggrandised successors of earlier existing spaces; framing the discussion around movement and accessibility helps to reveal this fundamental point.

Far from Carcopino's statement that opened this chapter, rather than opening new roads to traffic the development of the southern slope of the Quirinal under Domitian and Trajan instead created alternative routes around them. The new fora were not integrated into nor were they a part of wider patterns of movement. What we see is not a succession of additional fora in the same logic of the Forum Romanum, integrated into the city and functioning as intrinsically open spaces supporting large volumes of urban traffic. Rather, we

have the creation of a vast area detached from the city and free of any roads that cross them: with obviously limited through movement potential.⁶⁰² The creation of the imperial fora was the creation of a vast area that was rigorously pedestrianised.

Beyond the broad distinction between pedestrians and vehicles, we can note other types of street user. Litters, one of the most conspicuous of urban transportations in narratives on the city of Rome, would also be constrained by spatial practicality. The steps by the forum and Markets of Trajan, on via di Campo Carleo, are a good example of the problems presented: not only are they inaccessible to wheeled traffic, but they are vertiginously steep, rising 20 thin steps in less than 10 metres, and it is unlikely a litter could use them.⁶⁰³ A temporary exit from the litter to climb the stairs would suspend the kind of us/them mentality that underpins Juvenalian criticism of the rich man in his litter, avoiding contact with the streets of Rome.⁶⁰⁴ Litters are of no use when faced with such gradient. Such steps can therefore be seen to actively define a space for human pedestrian movement.

4.2.2 Moving To: the accessibility of the imperial fora

We have discussed Roberto Meneghini's reconstruction of the *platea Traiani* and the monumental propylon entrance at the north of the Forum Traiani. According to this model, there is a shift in the traditional direction of the imperial fora, from a north-south axis that follows the Forum Augustum and Forum Nervae, connecting the Forum Romanum toward the city beyond, to an axis based on the Forum Traiani. This is not to discuss axes in terms of a

⁶⁰² La Rocca 1998: 152. This is despite the perception of the forum *Transitorium*, discussed below.

⁶⁰³ In addition to this main flight of steps, further east there were minor elevation changes of 3 and 1 steps each. Following discussions with Lucrezia Ungaro, Massimo Vitti and Marisa Fochetti will be measuring this stairway for more detail than can be offered here. Regrettably, the information had not yet reached me by the time this thesis was submitted.

⁶⁰⁴ See Juv. 3.239-43; discussed in Newsome 2008: 444.

master-plan, but to emphasise the dominant relationships between the built fora and the existing street network.

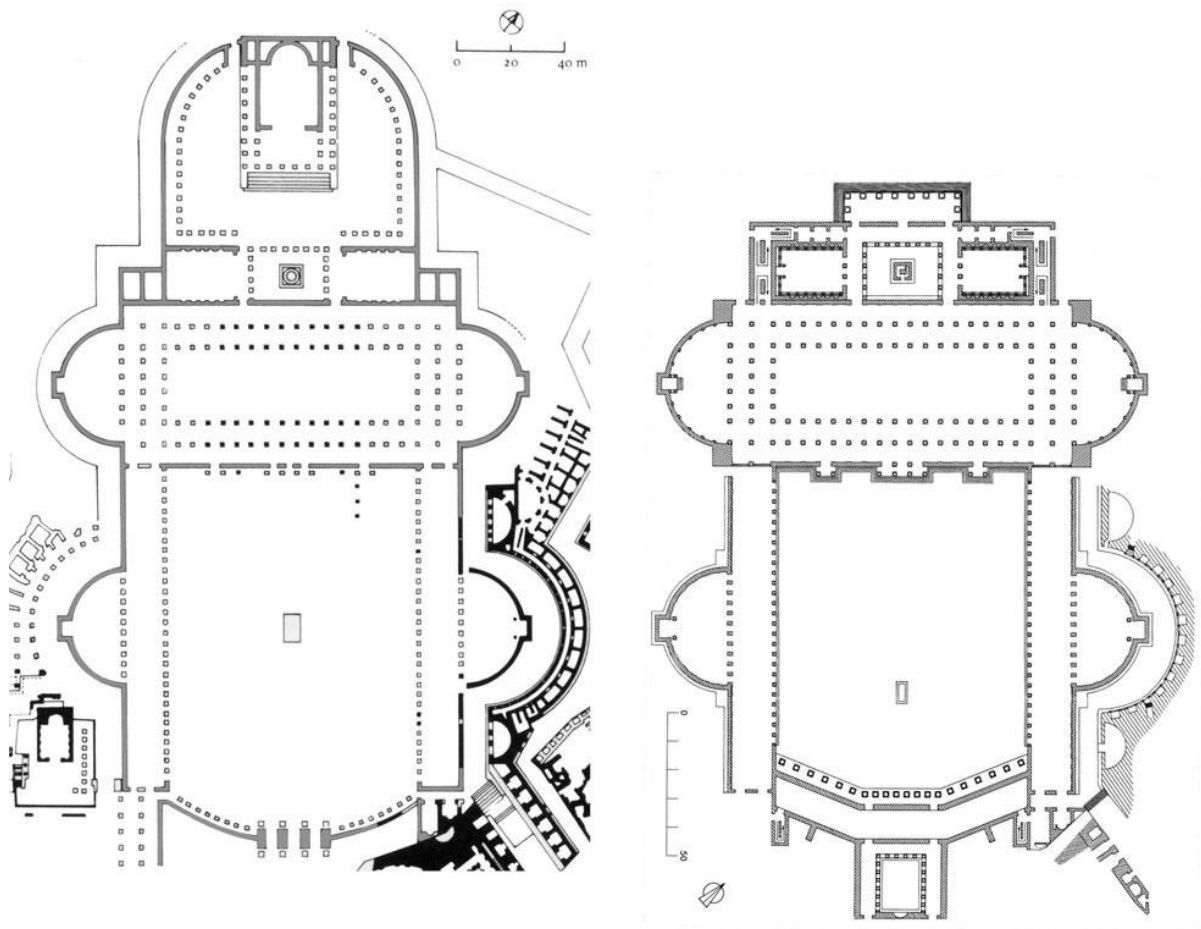


Figure 60 Interpretations of the form of the Forum Traiani. Left: interpretation including the *Templum Divi Traiani*. Right: Meneghini's reconstructed entrance from the direction of the *Campus Martius*.

If Meneghini's reconstruction is correct then we must locate the monumental entrance to the imperial fora as being from the direction of the *Campus Martius* (fig. 60). The importance of approach shifts from the *Subura/Argiletum* to the *via Lata*, with Trajan's Column marking the destination from far north on the arterial road.⁶⁰⁵ On the column, La Rocca has suggested that the scrolling frieze reflects the new arrangement of space and the emphasis on entry.⁶⁰⁶ He

⁶⁰⁵ As suggested by Boatwright 1987: 85.

⁶⁰⁶ La Rocca 1998: 167-8. A similar reading is offered by Galinier 2007. A possible problem with this interpretation is that the dedication on the column base faces inward, toward the *Basilica Ulpia*, rather than towards the dominant flow of movement as suggested for the main frieze (and as is common on similar base inscriptions, such as that on the column of Marcus Aurelius, facing the *via Lata*).

perceives the view of the frieze from Meneghini's entrance as a summary of the Trajanic campaigns. The column is thus oriented to present the major elements of its narrative to the entrance at the north of the forum complex; that is to say, it is oriented towards movement.

Let us now assume that Meneghini is right to reconstruct a monumental entrance and therefore to infer that the Trajanic complex is based upon the flow of movement from the *Campus Martius* and the street network we have discussed. Meneghini's reconstruction reverses traditional interpretations of the Forum Traiani by placing the entrance on the opposite end of the complex to where it had previously been located. Packer, for instance, inferred that "visitors to the forum would normally have entered through the three arches that faced the Forum of Augustus to the south".⁶⁰⁷ This assertion is based on the belief that a triple arch depicted on an *aureus* of ca. A.D. 115 – clearly related to the Forum Traiani – represents the external façade of a monumental entrance to the complex (fig. 61). The structure depicted is certainly monumental in scale, since it carries a *seiugis* rather than a *quadriga*. However, the opening for movement through the centre is small. If one interprets this as the main entrance, it is telling that the principal point of access for the forum was so clearly restricted.

This entrance, based on Packer's belief that the north end of the complex was closed with the portico and the *Templum Divi Traiani*, must have been at the opposite end, facing out toward the earlier fora. Of interest for understanding traffic in the area, wherever this may be located, the coin depicts a continuous stylobate, uncommon on depictions of arches which normally leave a gap in the central fornix. This argues against access for wheeled traffic.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ Packer 1997b: 85.

⁶⁰⁸ See similar assertions about the arch at the southern end of the Circus Maximus. Wiseman 2007b argues that the triumphal procession could not have passed through the arch because its depiction on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (7c) shows a series of steps on its northern side.



Figure 61 *Aureus* of A.D. 115 depicting part of the Forum Traiani. *RIC* II 256, *BMC* 509.

A further effect of locating the entrance toward the Forum Augustum was that Packer located the equestrian statue, described by Ammianus Marcellinus (16.10.15-16), at the geometric centre of the *area fori*, facing towards the Forum Augustum and thus toward the dominant flow of traffic (on the assumption that the horse would face the principal entrance). Recent excavations have revealed that the base for the statue was twenty metres south of the centre of the piazza (fig. 60). This might suggest that Meneghini's location (if not the form) of the principal entrance is more likely, since the statue probably presented its front to the main field of view, towards the direction of the *Basilica Ulpia*. If this is the case, then it is unlikely that

the three arches represented a monumental entrance from the direction of the Forum of Augustus, since it would open onto the rear of the statue.

Ammianus Marcellinus' description of Constantius II's tour of Rome has him arrive at the Forum Traiani following the following list of sites and monuments: the Theatre of Pompey, Domitian's *odeon* and his stadium. In this sequence, one arrives at the Forum Traiani after a tour of the *Campus Martius*. We should also note that upon arriving in the Forum Traiani, Constantius is said to have stood still in amazement before uttering his desire to copy the equestrian statue. In other words, there was no movement *around* the precinct in order to see the front of the statue. We might be wary of reading too closely, but this text supports the overlapping reconstructions of the statue facing the principal entrance and that this entrance was from the *Campus Martius*.

Meneghini's reversal of the Forum Traiani leaves the feature identified by Packer as the monumental entrance to be explained. Where it had faced outwards, onto a street between the fora of Trajan and Augustus, in Meneghini's reconstruction it faces inwards. It is part of a segmented wall, with oblique edges connecting to the lateral porticoes of the *area fori*, that formed the boundary of the precinct. Again, the picture is reversed so that the depiction on the *aureus* is seen not as the 'entrance' viewed from outside, but the 'exit' viewed from within. The significance of this for patterns of movement relates to the space between the two fora. Foundations between the Forum Traiani and Forum Augustum have been reconstructed as a courtyard that allowed for movement from one forum to the next (but not to within that courtyard from outside of either forum, for the perimeter walls were solid). As noted above, Packer argued that between the two fora there was a street which would have formerly run from the Quirinal toward the Forum Iulium. This theory has recently been revived by Claridge, who has offered the following interpretation: "It is [...] a broad marble street, set between solid marble walls, in continuation of the stepped street which descends the hill besides Trajan's Markets, passing between the fora of Trajan and Augustus through to

Caesar's and points beyond".⁶⁰⁹ In this interpretation, the emphasis is on movement across the perimeter of the forum, outside of both and within neither.

Meneghini's interpretation, conversely, emphasises the link between the two fora, with no connection to the surrounding street network. Claridge prefers to think of the foundations discovered between the two fora as the remains of a small courtyard – "more a vestibule or forecourt" – which was related to a building as yet undiscovered in the unexcavated space immediately to the west.⁶¹⁰ She suggests that the Forum Traiani incorporated a major cross route from the Quirinal to the Forum Iulium and beyond. This route, she suggests, defined the dominant patterns of movement through the forum; along an approximate diagonal, entering from the area of modern via di Campo Carleo, crossing the southern portico before heading towards (via routes not explained) the Forum Iulium, the *clivus Argentarius* and the Capitoline, or the Forum Romanum. Instead of obliterating a street, Claridge argues that the Forum Traiani "monumentalis(ed) it in marble".⁶¹¹ In this reconstruction, the Forum Traiani continues to serve as a shortcut and a connecting node through these regions of the city. It is a route that maintains the through movement potential of this general area, by maintaining a path from one side of the imperial fora to the other in such a way that it would form a shortcut through the complexes. However, two related issues for movement remain: the street was a continuation of the stepped route from via di Campo Carleo and it was paved in marble. Both these points indicate that vehicles would not have used this route, so the hypothetical journey discussed above is not made any easier had this street existed. Apart from this, the continuous walls that pass between the Forum Augustum and Forum Traiani argue against any through movement on the axis Claridge describes.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Claridge 2007: 90-1.

⁶¹⁰ Claridge 2007: 91.

⁶¹¹ Claridge 2007: 93.

⁶¹² La Rocca 1998: 152 discusses this area and its isolation from external street traffic.

Given the broader nature of space in and around the imperial fora and the ways in which they relate to the external space of the city at large, as well as given the lack of any authoritative data to support her suggestions, Claridge's interpretation is less convincing than Meneghini's emphasis on movement from the direction of the *Campus Martius*. In many ways, when we read that a street has been 'monumentalised' we are reminded of summaries of the *Argiletum*. There, as noted, an existing street was transformed into the Forum Nervae. However, this monumentalisation obliterated its role as a street. Clearly, in terms of patterns of movement, the role of what followed was not the same as what went before. In pursuing this theme, we can now return to the most egregious example of this: the Porticus Absidata and the entrance to the fora from the direction of the *Subura*.

As noted, an article by Pierre Gros has recently addressed the Porticus Absidata after years without inquiry. Gros' article is prefaced with anecdotal reference to the decision taken in early 2000 to erect a barrier around the Pantheon at night, in order to prevent the homeless from sleeping beneath its porch. This would have altered the use of that space and created a rift in the historical topography of the *Campus Martius* by shutting off one of its most open public spaces, albeit only at a certain time and based only on the reaction to a certain group.⁶¹³ This, according to Gros, represents the threshold of tolerance, manifest in terms of access and availability, which denies participation to particular groups or individuals. Whether or not the closure of the Pantheon inspired Gros' reading of the Porticus Absidata or whether it (more likely) provided a timely near-parallel in modern Rome, it closely matches the spirit of Gros' reinterpretation of Bauer's work; to avoid fixating on the monumentality and material richness of the structure and instead to consider 'l'ambiguïté du mouvement'.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹³ Gros 2001: 129. The abandoned (129, n.2) plan to enclose the Pantheon is discussed in the *Bollettino informativo dell'Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica* 23-24, December 1999 - March 2000.

⁶¹⁴ Gros 2001: 137.

Gros follows Bauer in emphasising the transitional nature of the Porticus Absidata, from the streets north to the new forum. However, here the similarities end. Where Bauer championed the notion that the Porticus Absidata represented an inviting, monumental entrance, collecting up the roads and filing them neatly into the imperial fora, Gros suggests the opposite: the Porticus Absidata's main function was to *prevent* movement rather than facilitate it. The physical space of the Porticus Absidata, then, was constructed not only to fit into the space left over by the various encroaching structures of the Forum Augustum, Temple of Minerva and Templum Pacis, but for “de sélection discrètes mais efficaces pour éviter toute “invasion” incontrôlée”.⁶¹⁵

Accordingly, the physical constraints on the space, which control movement along clearly defined and easily controllable routes, creates the imperial fora's security check-point at the critical juncture between the surrounding space of the *populus* and the imperial space within. In stark contrast to Bauer's reconstruction, Gros takes the view that the reality of the Porticus Absidata, the way it functioned, was “n'est pas celle de l'accueil, mais celle du filtrage”.⁶¹⁶ From reception to filtering, the role of this space is entirely transformed. Given its location, so too must be our interpretation of the spaces to which it gave access.

As noted above, Bauer argued that we could divorce the form of the Porticus Absidata from its function. This does not seem appropriate, especially when we consider the structure in Gros' terms. We can return to the physical evidence in order to consider this reinterpretation. Reference has already been made to the cuttings which Bauer identified and tentatively reconstructed as the evidence for a gate. As noted, we might reasonably infer that this had an earlier function related to the control of movement. The Porticus Absidata connects with three other imperial spaces: the Forum Nervae, Forum Augustum and Templum Pacis, but all of these access points are within the portico itself. Accordingly, any form of

⁶¹⁵ Gros 2001: 133.

⁶¹⁶ Gros 2001: 137.

structure that restricts free movement between all of the intercolumnations redirects that movement to one space at the end of the portico, opposite the corridor to the Forum Nervae. This supports Gros' idea of channelled movement for the purposes of filtration. It should be noted, however, that the arrangement of this entrance, far from the inviting image painted by Bauer, is suitably discreet. The opening in the arch to the east of the Temple of Minerva aligns with the central pilaster of the southernmost row of the Porticus Absidata. Accordingly there is no visual connection between the spaces, and one cannot see one's destination from outside or even from within the Porticus Absidata. It is only when one passes through into the vestibule between the Temple of Minerva and the wall of the Templum Pacis, that one can perceive the route and only again when one has passed through the arch that one is in the forum itself. Similarly, the entrances from within the Porticus Absidata open into the northern portico of the Templum Pacis (by way of stairs) and into the northeast corner of the Forum Augustum by way of a small network of corridors. Another issue with the Porticus Absidata is that it is an entirely pedestrianised space. It has no concessions for vehicle traffic and actively excludes it either by the steps between the street and the portico pavement, by the narrow space between the columns and by the staggered layout of the columns noted above, which prevent a clear line of sight and would also make it impossible for a vehicle to negotiate the space.

The Porticus Absidata does not facilitate movement in the grand system envisaged by Bauer. We must consider that the Porticus Absidata was conceived under Domitian, like so much of the imperial fora under discussion. Although the Forum Nervae was completed by Nerva, there is no reason to suspect that the fundamental spatial principles were dramatically altered from the plans which were already underway. We can reasonably infer that the Forum Nervae was built from the south, by the Forum Romanum, to the north, for the same reasons that we can infer that the Forum Traiani was built from the east towards the west, namely, the necessity to have access to the delivery and removal of construction materials means that

work starts away from the existing street network and progressively builds towards it. Accordingly, the Porticus Absidata would have been constructed after the Temple of Minerva.

Although it became known after his successor, the Forum Nervae must be considered in terms of Domitian's attitudes to space. Suetonius includes it in a list of projects that Domitian had built, and it must have near to completion when Domitian was assassinated in September A.D. 96.⁶¹⁷ The choice of *excitare* suggests that the forum was Domitianic and as Suetonius does not credit Nerva with its completion (*perfecare*) we can infer that it was finished at Domitian's death. That the fundamental layout of the complex was complete under Domitian is also suggested by the pace with which Nerva dedicated the forum, early in A.D. 97.⁶¹⁸ This leaves little time for any changing of the complicated architectural scheme. That the scheme reflects Domitian's original aims is no doubt confirmed also by the dominating presence of Minerva, a deity whom he worshipped intently and whose temple stood at the north end of the precinct.⁶¹⁹

Recalling Gros' interpretation of the function of the Porticus Absidata, we might pause for a moment to recall another instance where Domitian's architecture reflected the need to offer security, one which was discussed at the beginning of this thesis. Suetonius noted that towards the end of his life, Domitian became increasingly anxious and paranoid about the threat of danger, so much so that he had the walls of his colonnade covered in reflective phengite stone, so that he could see the reflection of all that went on behind his

⁶¹⁷ Suet. *Dom.* 5, Novam autem excitavit aedem in Capitolio Custodi Iovi, et forum quod nunc Nervae vocatur. Suetonius' use of *excitare* in this context can be read like the more common *fecere* – to build (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; *Cal.* 46.1; *Claud.* 1.3). For projects that had been started by one emperor but were not complete, he more commonly uses *incohare* – to begin (e.g. Suet. *Iul.* 26.2; *Cal.* 21.1; *Claud.* 20.1; *Nero* 31.3). Eutropius 7.23 also credits the forum to Domitian.

⁶¹⁸ *CIL* VI 953.

⁶¹⁹ On Domitian and Minerva, see Suet. *Dom.* 15.3; Cass. Dio 67.1.2. On the dedication to Minerva in the forum, Aur Vict. *de Caes.* 12.2.

back.⁶²⁰ It is perhaps not surprising that the Porticus Absidata should apparently be emblematic of this desire to regulate or control access. We might also note that the two other spaces which have been noted for their controlling role on movement and space, almost functioning as panopticons, can be dated to the same period – the offices in the central body of the Markets of Trajan by via di Campo Carleo, now dated to the period of Domitian and the *Terrazza Domiziana*.

One might speculate that Trajan consciously distanced himself from the Domitianic groundwork by constructing his own monumental entrance to the north of his new forum. In considering this possibility, we might note that Trajan's project chose to deliberately cover Domitian's development of the *Terrazza Domiziana*: a sort of *damnatio memoriae* by destroying Domitian's original vista.⁶²¹ In this sense, the relationship between the imperial fora and the surrounding city reflects the wider relationship of societal interaction between citizen and *princeps*. Indeed, as we have already noted, Pliny's *Panegyricus* elsewhere emphasises the notion that the present emperor, and Nerva before him, had removed the negative legacy of Domitian through the re-opening of public spaces that he had closed.⁶²²

4.2.3 Movement and nomenclature: *Forum Transitorium*

We have considered how the Porticus Absidata could prevent or at least limit movement and access to the imperial fora. This requires some further explanation because the space with which it is most commonly linked, the Forum Nervae, is also known by names that imply

⁶²⁰ Suet. *Dom.* 14.5, *tempore vero suspecti periculi appropinquante*. On the reflective properties of the material, see Pliny *HN* 36.163.

⁶²¹ See Tortorici 1993. Trajan incorporated Domitian's earlier constructions behind the end of the portico of his new forum.

⁶²² Trajan consciously distanced himself from Domitian's spatial habits in the *Circus Maximus* – removing the private *cubiculum* that had previously segregated the emperor from the people (Plin. *Pan.* 51.)

movement to be a defining variable in the way in which it was conceived – *transitorium* and *pervium*.⁶²³ Let us briefly consider this now, with reference also to the *Argiletum*.

One of the more common literary texts used in discussions of the Forum Nervae, particularly with reference to movement and the elusive quadrifrontal monument to Janus, is Martial 10.28, written after those epigrams that deal with the *Argiletum*, noted in previous sections. The apparent links between movement, Janus and the nomenclature of *transitorium* and *pervium* have no doubt been influenced by Cicero's comment that "crossings which carry roads are called Iani".⁶²⁴ This ostensibly provides a perceptual overlap of the terms, and spatial practices, which are found in the Forum Nervae: through movement, transition, and a monument appropriately dedicated to Janus. Holland, developing this further, argued that the origins of the Forum Nervae in the *Argiletum* must be understood in the context of the route of the cloaca Maxima.⁶²⁵ Accordingly, the shrine to Janus in the Forum Nervae marked the point at which a road was carried over water (reading Cicero's *perviae* as *per via* – crossings for roads).⁶²⁶

However, it is worth considering the reference in more detail. Martial speaks to Janus as follows: "formerly you lived on a passage in a tiny dwelling, where Rome in her crowds trod the thoroughfare. Now your threshold is encircled by Caesar's gifts, and you number as many fora, Janus, as you have faces".⁶²⁷ It should be noted that Martial is writing in the past tense about the former temple of Janus (*habitabas*) and, although he may or may not be accurately pointing toward a subsequent, contemporary monument, the patterns of space that he characterises are from a previous incarnation. By the time Martial was writing, the patterns

⁶²³ See for example Lugli 1946 : 56 : "che, servendo di passaggio, prese il nome di Transitorio".

⁶²⁴ Cic. *de Nat.* 2.67, transitiones perviae iani [...] nominatur.

⁶²⁵ Holland 1961: 23.

⁶²⁶ Taylor and Holland 1952 : 137.

⁶²⁷ Mart. 10.28.3-6, Pervius exiguos habitabas ante penates, plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter: Nunc tua Caesareis cinguntur limina donis, et fora tot numeras, Iane, quot ora geris. This implies four fora, which contrasts with the earlier designation *triplici foro* in ca. A.D. 87 (Mart. 3.38).

of space had altered dramatically from the busy street of the *Argiletum*.⁶²⁸ This is a simple fact that is often overlooked when scholars speak of the Forum Nervae as the monumentalisation of the existing street: characterising the change as the plan to ennoble the disordered street, creating a *grande passaggio* between the Forum Romanum and the *Subura* or, moreover, between the east and the west of the city.⁶²⁹ The notion that the Forum Nervae inherited the role of passage that had characterised the *Argiletum* is mistaken and fails to adequately interpret the nature of movement in this space.

However, this theme persists because of the two other names given to this space that imply movement as a defining feature of *this* forum: *Forum Transitorium* and *Forum Pervium*.⁶³⁰ However, the common theme amongst all of the sources for which we know of other names than Forum Nervae is that they are all much later than Flavian Rome.⁶³¹ The references also give the names according to how they are known to the readers not, for example, to those alive under Nerva when the forum was dedicated, even if that is the context of the discussion. Accordingly, what we have are a collection of late references to the site. As noted in Chapter 3, representations of space vary depending upon changing spatial practice.

The use of *transitorium* or *pervium* to describe the Forum Nervae is of great value in demonstrating that patterns of movement informed the representation of urban spaces, at least from the fourth century A.D. However, it is of limited use in inferring the impact of the imperial fora on existing patterns of movement, precisely because they are later sources that speak of concepts from their own time rather than those of the late first century A.D. Those

⁶²⁸ Book Ten is usually understood as being written under Domitian but reissued under Nerva, between ca. A.D. 95 – 98. The Forum Nervae was dedicated in A.D. 97.

⁶²⁹ For example, Ricci *et al.* 1933: 101. This reading is inspired by their own circumstances, with the opening of via dell'Impero.

⁶³⁰ *Transitorium* is the most common of the two, occurring in: SHA Alex. Sev. 28.6; 36.32; Eutropius 7.22. *Pervium* occurs just once in Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 12.2.

⁶³¹ The biography of Alexander Severus dates from the late third or early fourth century; Aurelius Victor from the late fourth century, as for Eutropius; and Servius was writing in the early fifth century

sources that are closer to the period of conception and construction – and share a similar ‘urban disposition’ – include no such parlance. More significantly still, perhaps, the one source that we can place in the area before, during and after the construction of the Forum Nervae – Martial – makes no allusions to movement other than to suggest that the shrine of Janus was *no longer* crowded by the users of Rome’s busy thoroughfare. His contemporary, Statius, wrote of the threshold of Janus being provided with courts and a forum: while *coronare* in this context might be read as ‘crowned’, it could also be read as ‘encircled’: the pervius threshold surrounded by a forum that means it is no longer accessible.⁶³² There is no reason to believe that the late-first and early-second century A.D. user considered the Forum Nervae to be in any way a continuation, albeit more monumental, of the *Argiletum*. The notion that it formed the grand approach to the Forum Romanum from the *Subura* is based more on its physical location and elongated extension than on evidence of patterns of use. What evidence we do have, if not for the patterns themselves then for the facilitation of those patterns, suggests that the piazza was not analogous to a thoroughfare.

In any case, what seems to have been overlooked is that this forum, and this forum alone, is later defined according to movement variables. The obvious implication for our understanding of the imperial fora at large is that the others are not defined according to movement, because it was not an important representation of those spaces based on their specific patterns of spatial practice.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS

Having discussed the impact of the imperial fora on existing street networks, the integration of the fora into what survived of those street networks, and the controls placed on movement at ‘principal’ entrances, we can now summarise the discussion and consider the nature of the

⁶³² Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.9-10, sed qui limina bellicosa iani iustis legibus et foro coronat.

imperial fora from the perspective of movement. One of the principal investigators of the imperial fora over the last two decades has characterised the nature of the new spaces as follows: “La logica sottesa al sistema degli ingressi ai Fori Imperiali era quindi una logica ‘chiusa’”.⁶³³

The imperial fora lacked any axial entrances that might be considered to be the main channels of movement from outside to inside, and as the examples in this chapter have demonstrated, those entrances that did exist were restrictive and served to hinder rather than facilitate urban movement. The result of this was to create a large area detached from wider patterns of traffic; accommodating only specific users and excluding others not through regulation or custom but through architecture.

The nature of these spaces could not be much further from the Forum Romanum. As we saw, this had developed in part as an extended crossroads in the central valley of the city and was characterised by its through movement potential. With regards to the regulation of movement and accessibility, we have noted in Chapter 3 that restrictions in the Forum Romanum are the result of either piecemeal changes or the attempted imposition of cultural behaviours that lacked any physical expression in the built environment. We began this chapter by noting that one of the significant aspects of the imperial fora is that they allow us to see the construction of new spaces that manifest culturally emergent habits. We might consider their initial forms, and their initial relationship with patterns of urban movement, to be similar to the forms which were being developed in the Forum Romanum – the architectural definition of distinct elements of urban space, the segregation of that space from vehicular traffic by the erection of barriers and the closure of certain streets or the rerouting of others. The imperial fora are characterised by architectures of inaccessibility, and this calls into question the extent to which these monumental public spaces were ‘public’ at all (this

⁶³³ La Rocca 2006 : 142.

point is discussed more in Chapter 6). The very idea that they were eminently public is in need of revision based on the practicalities of movement to and through those spaces.

Given that centrality is defined according to patterns of movement, it is of course fundamental to recognise that the imperial fora – often considered the successive additions to the ‘centre’ – have completely different philosophies and practicalities of movement built into them. We may still hear of *locus celeberrimus* within the imperial fora but this refers to a part, rather than the whole. None of the imperial fora are a *locus celeberrimus* themselves. This is because, unlike the Forum Romanum, they did not allow for the kind of patterns of movement that generated that definition.

The previous chapters have considered the developments in the city of Rome, and have identified an emergent urban disposition that sees the transformation of the concept of urban space, based on movement and accessibility, to a nature of space that is exclusive rather than inclusive. The distinction between the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora could hardly be greater when considered in terms of through movement potential and the position of the fora within movement through the city. To put this fundamental spatial change in context, it is prudent to look outside of Rome, the case study area for which is relatively small and specific. This will enable us to see if the changing urban disposition that led to the redefinition of space in the capital, over the first centuries B.C. and A.D. can be observed elsewhere, and whether it can be understood as part of a broader cultural redefinition of space. Although in the conclusions to this thesis I consider some further examples, notably Paestum, Volsinii and Ostia, the following chapter focusses on Pompeii.

As we will see, the forum at Pompeii was originally little more than a loosely defined piazza at the intersection of several important roads through the city. However, while Pompeii’s forum has often been compared with Rome on the basis of architectural or art historical imitation, there has been no appreciation of the ways in which the development of the forum at Pompeii follows the evolution of the *nature* of space in Rome. In other words,

does Pompeii's forum develop in such a way that patterns of movement are restricted, as they are in the imperial fora in Rome?

5 POMPEII

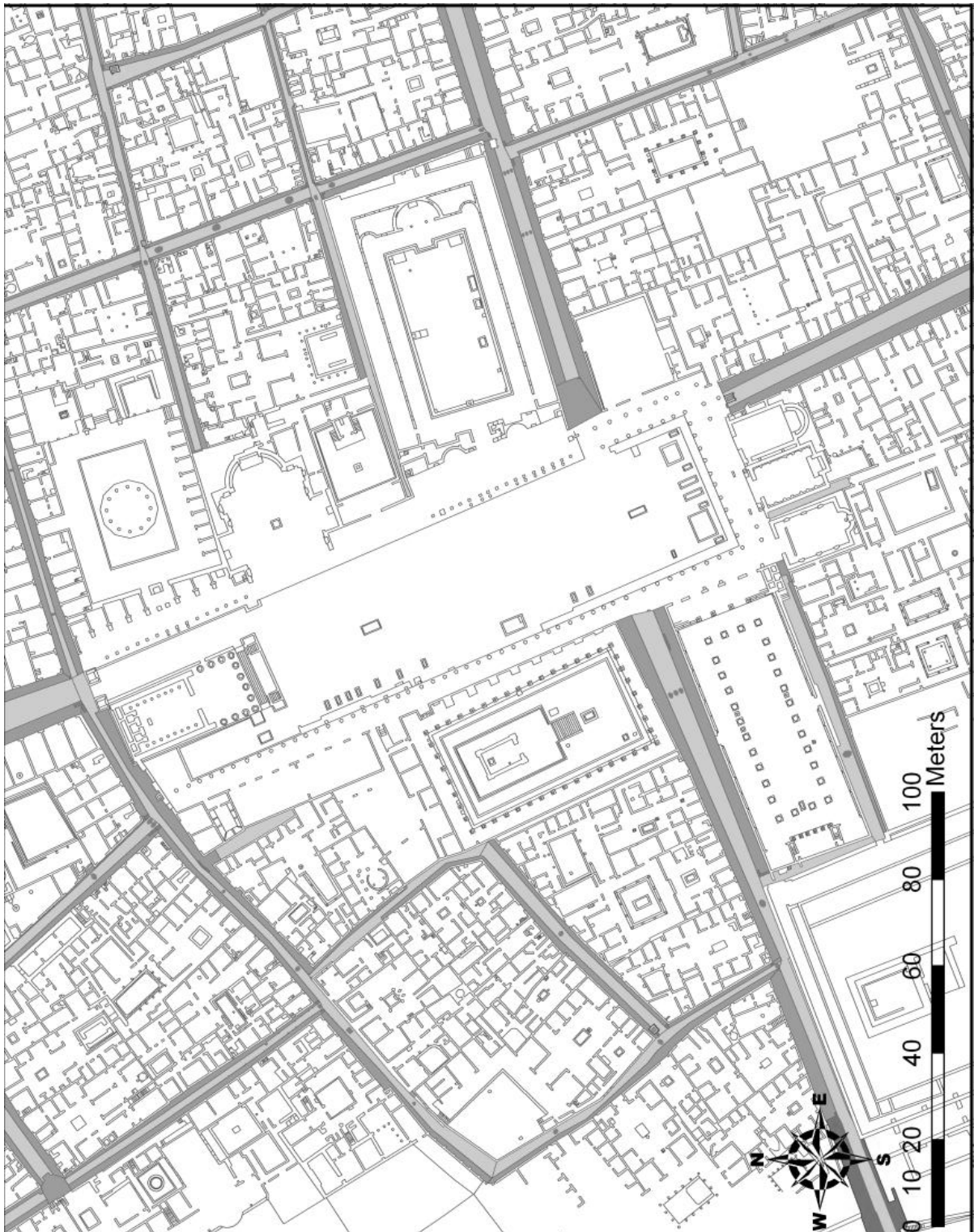


Figure 62 The forum at Pompeii, with neighbouring streets highlighted (courtesy of Eric E. Poehler).

5 POMPEII

The purpose of this chapter is to provide chronological and geographical comparison for the case studies in Rome. This chapter has two main aims: first, to provide a more substantive and detailed chronology of Pompeii's forum, thus overcoming the problem that Pompeii's remarkable preservation in A.D. 79 does not offer a diachronic view of space; second, to interpret this chronology in the light of similar chronologies in Rome, so that we might consider if the patterns are part of a broader cultural redefinition of central space

As noted in Chapter 1, Rome is atypical in studies of the Roman city. It was a metropolis that occupied a much larger area and supported a much larger population than did other cities in Roman Italy. Comparison of the kind presented in this chapter helps us to avoid transforming the exception (Rome) into the norm of Roman urban space. We should not assume that the picture from Rome is valid elsewhere. However, as the examples in this chapter show, while we should not assume congruence we can, in any case, spot it. The forum in Pompeii develops in a remarkably similar way to the trends identified in Rome. It is precisely because we cannot assume congruence that this congruence is all the more interesting and important. It reveals that, despite serving completely different scales of urban communities, the fora in Rome influenced the nature of space in the forum at Pompeii. This, then, is the case of a logic of space that is not dictated by the demands of praxis. I will return to this in more detail in the conclusions of this thesis, offering further examples from Roman Italy.

As this chapter will demonstrate, examining the forum at Pompeii reveals a process of redefinition of existing patterns of movement and traffic: reducing the through movement potential of earlier nodes, in order that the later forum approximates a piazza. To present the development of the forum at Pompeii in its most simple terms, I would argue that it goes from being a space like the Forum Romanum to being a space like the imperial fora.

This chapter proceeds by first outlining the chronological development of the forum at Pompeii, again with particular focus on changes that influence the through movement potential of that space for either vehicles or pedestrians. Following this, the chapter presents a comparison spatial analysis of these changes. This allows us to see the changes to through movement potential from one period to the next. Pompeii is amenable to this kind of spatial analysis in a way that Rome is not, because the evidence for the wider street network remains fragmentary in the capital. Analysing Pompeii helps us to comprehend the effects of ostensibly trivial change on the through movement potential of the forum, and therefore serves as proxy evidence for contextualising the significance of those changes discussed in Rome. The chapter then considers a depiction of the forum from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix, dating to the mid- to late-first century A.D. In many ways this neatly expresses the development of space more broadly: it reveals a busy forum, in many ways a *locus celeberrimus*, but one that has apparent restrictions of the kind we might expect from this period. This is a representation of space shaped by changing spatial practice in a formative period for the development of urban space in Roman Italy: the mid- to late-first century A.D.

5.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORUM: 1ST CENTURY B.C. – A.D. 79

For discussions of Pompeii's urban form, and although they were written over a century ago the words of August Mau are still pertinent: "The fact soon becomes apparent that it reached its final form only as the result of a long period of development".⁶³⁴ As in Rome, we cannot understand the forum without understanding its changing relationship to neighbouring streets and spaces. In order that the chronological problems with Pompeian archaeology might be addressed, the examination of Pompeii presented here involved compiling evidence for changes to infrastructures of movement: the addition or removal of streets, the erection of

⁶³⁴ Mau 1899: 49.

traffic barriers, the construction of gates, and so forth, all with defined chronological contexts. Again, the evidence means dealing with minutiae in order to understand the bigger picture of urban change.

This presents us with a narrative of urban change that can then be interpreted and analysed for its impact on movement and traffic to and through the space of the forum. In this section, I summarise the main archaeological data and outline the basic changes to urban space from one period to the next. In order to focus on the most pertinent comparisons with developments in Rome, the following discusses the changes to the forum in the late-first century B.C. and the first century A.D., although there is increasing evidence that the first organisation of the forum piazza, including the construction of the Basilica and the Porticus of Popidius, are earlier than has commonly been assumed: dating from the second century B.C., rather than the early first.⁶³⁵

In order to contextualise the changes in the late-first century B.C. and throughout the first century A.D., it is necessary to understand the disposition of Pompeii's forum within the street network prior to this period. Determining this is largely a case of working backwards from known and dated structural changes. If we know that a street was blocked by a building erected in A.D. 30, this gives a likely *terminus ante quem* for the function of that street as a thoroughfare. We must allow for the possibility that the blockage we can identify followed an earlier blockage but, unless discussed otherwise below, the context of changes around the forum at Pompeii is well documented and we can have confidence in the chronological model outlined here.

⁶³⁵ The present author has conducted a wider ranging survey of changes to *Regio* VII and VIII from 150 B.C. onwards, although for the sake of brevity and to maintain focus, only the changes to the forum in the late-Republic and first century A.D. are discussed here. For output of the broader survey, see Newsome 2009b. The present author plans to publish this survey, which will present a broader change in Pompeian urban space than is possible to discuss in great detail here. In this chapter I focus only on the most pertinent issues relating to movement and traffic.

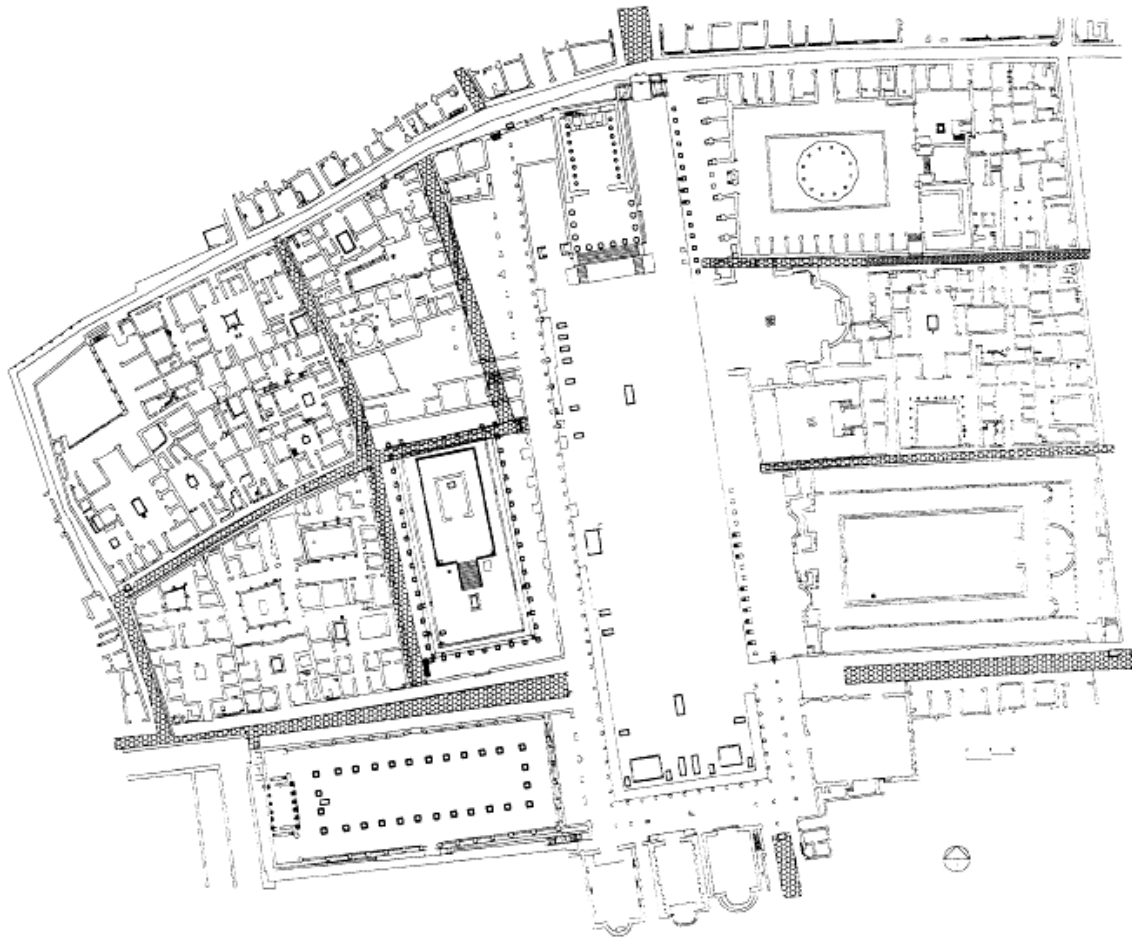


Figure 63 Earlier streets running into Pompeii's forum (from Dobbins 1998: fig. 1)

The most commonly reproduced image of Pompeii's forum, that of the forum in A.D. 79, is markedly different from what went before (fig. 63). In its most accessible form, prior to the developments in the late-first century B.C., we can identify several additional routes that connected the forum with the wider city. In terms of routes that were later blocked but had earlier ran into the forum we can note the following. On the west of the piazza, vico del Gallo continued from the junction with vicolo del Gigante and entered the forum approximately half-way along its long-edge. This did not continue to join up with the streets on the east. Further north, a street ran from vico dei Soprastanti and met vico del Gallo at the border of the forum. On the east of the piazza, vicolo del Balcone Pensile and vicolo degli Scheletri both formed important routes from the nearby *insulae*. All of these streets were accessible to vehicles. In addition, pedestrian paths entered at the southwest corner: from vico del

Championnet and from between the Republican buildings. Both of these streets were of little significance for through movement, and both were blocked as part of the second century B.C. developments of the south of the forum.⁶³⁶ Earlier routes that continued to function until A.D. 79 but were redefined at some point in order to exclude vehicles include the two entrances either side of the Temple of Jupiter and the major thoroughfare of the *via dell'Abbondanza* (all later blocked to vehicles through upright barrier stones), as well as *via delle Scuole* (blocked by a fountain). Indeed, the most striking observation from Pompeii's forum is that not one of the routes that led into it escaped, at one point or another, being blocked or changed in order to restrict access.

Pompeii's earlier forum therefore had eleven routes running into it, from all directions. The open space of the piazza was not defined with travertine paving or with its lateral porticoes until much later, but in any case it seems that the streets that line-up either side of the forum did not cross to meet one another. In considering the spatial disposition of the forum at this time we should recall the image of the Piazza di Spagna from the beginning of Chapter 3: this is a space of considerable through movement potential into which numerous routes enter. Those routes may have relatively little definition within the open space, but nevertheless serve to filter movement to and through this important node in the city. *Tabernae* surrounded at least some of the forum but lacked homogeneity and only approximated a defined border to the space. The formal definition of the shape of the forum was first dictated by the portico at the south, then the Temple of Jupiter at the north.⁶³⁷ After this time, the story

⁶³⁶ See Ohr 1991 on the basilica, and Dobbins & Ball 2005; Kockel 2005; Kockel & Flecke 2009 on the broader changes to this area in the second century B.C. It had been thought that the development of the southern portico was the first activity after the arrival of Roman colonists in 80 B.C., although our chronology for this space evidently needs revising. The early changes did not interfere with patterns of through movement. These were only ever pedestrian routes serving the properties immediately around the south and southwest of the forum. While blocked from the piazza, they continued as local paths.

⁶³⁷ The date of the temple continues to attract debate. Maiuri 1973: 101-24 suggested that it dated to the mid- to late- second century B.C., although Richardson 1988: 138 argued that its design and

of the development of Pompeii's forum is further definition of its edges and the progressive restriction of through movement.

5.1.1 Julio-Claudian changes:

It is in Augustan period that we see the first major transformations of the forum and significant alterations to the way in which it was connected to the street network that surrounded it. Much of the work done on this period has been concerned with the emergence of spaces for the Imperial Cult.⁶³⁸ While this is important for our interpretations of the development of the forum, particularly when we are explaining it in terms of influence from Rome, we can here limit the discussion to a survey of physical changes themselves, beginning with the substantial changes to the west of the forum.

The changes to this area altered the grid of streets formed by Vico del Gallo (west-east from Vicolo del Gigante to the forum) and Vicolo Storto Nuovo (north-south from Vico dei Soprastanti to Via Marina).⁶³⁹ These changes can be related to the expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo in the Augustan period.⁶⁴⁰ It has been widely suggested that the sanctuary, in its A.D. 79 form, was formalised in the second century B.C. This model suggests that a larger sanctuary was contracted and certain areas deconsecrated in order to allow space for the later forum piazza. Accompanying this act was the sealing up of "deposits of votive materials",

architectural arrangement was post-Sullan. Zevi 1996: 126-7 considers the temple to be the first addition to the city under the Roman colony. If this is accurate, then the reorganisation of the southern end of the forum square defined all later developments, as the layout of the portico dated as far back as the second century B.C.

⁶³⁸ Zanker 1988: 26; 1990: 308; Fishwick 1995: 33, who argues that the forum was "practically given over to the Cult of the Imperial House" from the start of the first century A.D.

⁶³⁹ These changes are detailed in Newsome 2009b, which examines their impact on the nearby *insulae* and in particular on the use of space contiguous with the Casa del Marinaio.

⁶⁴⁰ De Caro 1986: 25; Zanker 1988: 26.

which have been excavated along the eastern *temenos* of the sanctuary.⁶⁴¹ The eastern wall clearly suggests that the construction of the Sanctuary of Apollo responded to the alignment of the Temple of Jupiter in the forum, as gradually thickening piers attempt to mask the divergence between the alignments of the two temples.⁶⁴² Because of this, we can suggest that the *temenos* wall postdates the developments in the forum itself. Removing the changes made in the late-first century B.C., the earlier layout of streets west of the forum is revealed (fig. 64).

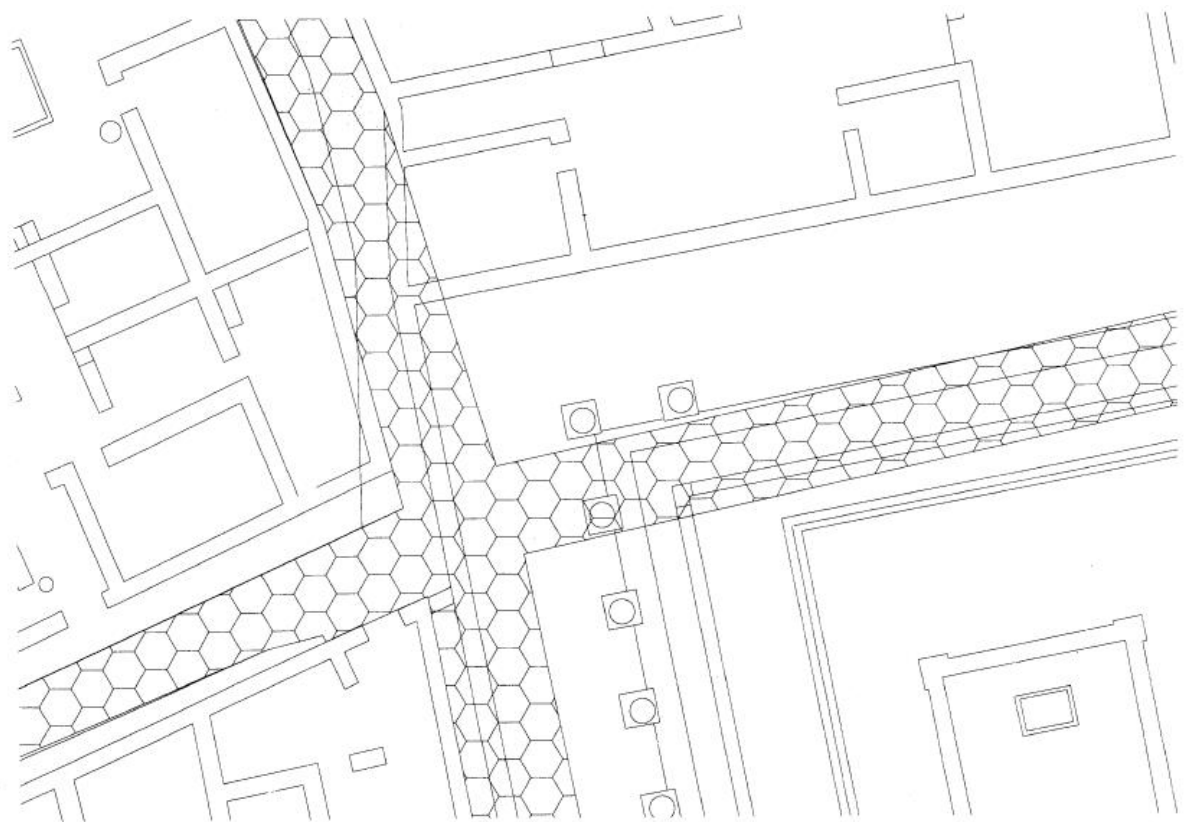


Figure 64 Original street junction north of the Sanctuary of Apollo, connecting to the forum further east (Dobbins 1998 *et al.*: fig. 3).

⁶⁴¹ Cooley 2003: 125. De Caro 2007: 76–7 provides a summary of the debates surrounding a second century B.C. date for the current form of the sanctuary. Arthur 1986: 41 also asserted that the original precinct was much larger than its final form suggests. He links the reduction in the size of the sanctuary to the appropriation of land for the construction of the western forum colonnade (this itself was probably not constructed until the first century A.D., much later than Arthur believes, although he did concede that the alterations might be “as late as the Sullan period”). Such theories must more thoroughly explain the kind of urban priorities that this kind of spatial change would presuppose.

⁶⁴² De Caro 1986: 24.

The current orthodoxy is that the precinct's final form is a product of the late-first century B.C.⁶⁴³ In this phase we find a colonnade of 9 x 17 columns surrounding the temple on all sides. The columns are closer to the temple podium around the rear and the sides, but have ample room to the front. The entrance to the precinct from Via Marina was off-centre, because of the compression of the space produced by the tightening axis of the eastern wall at the border of the forum. Had the opening been placed in the centre of this restricted wall, it would have opened onto the central column of the front colonnade and obscured the view of the temple and altar. The Sanctuary of Apollo, then, is in many ways a space designed around negotiation and contraction to fit its local environment.

⁶⁴³ Ling 2007: 122. Recent excavations have revealed a series of planting pits to the east of the temple, compatible with an Augustan date (Carroll & Godden 2002: 757). Work on the precinct wall by Dobbins *et al.* (1998: 744) uncovered Augustan lamps beneath the northwest corner of the precinct, providing a *terminus post quem* of the final quarter of the first century B.C.

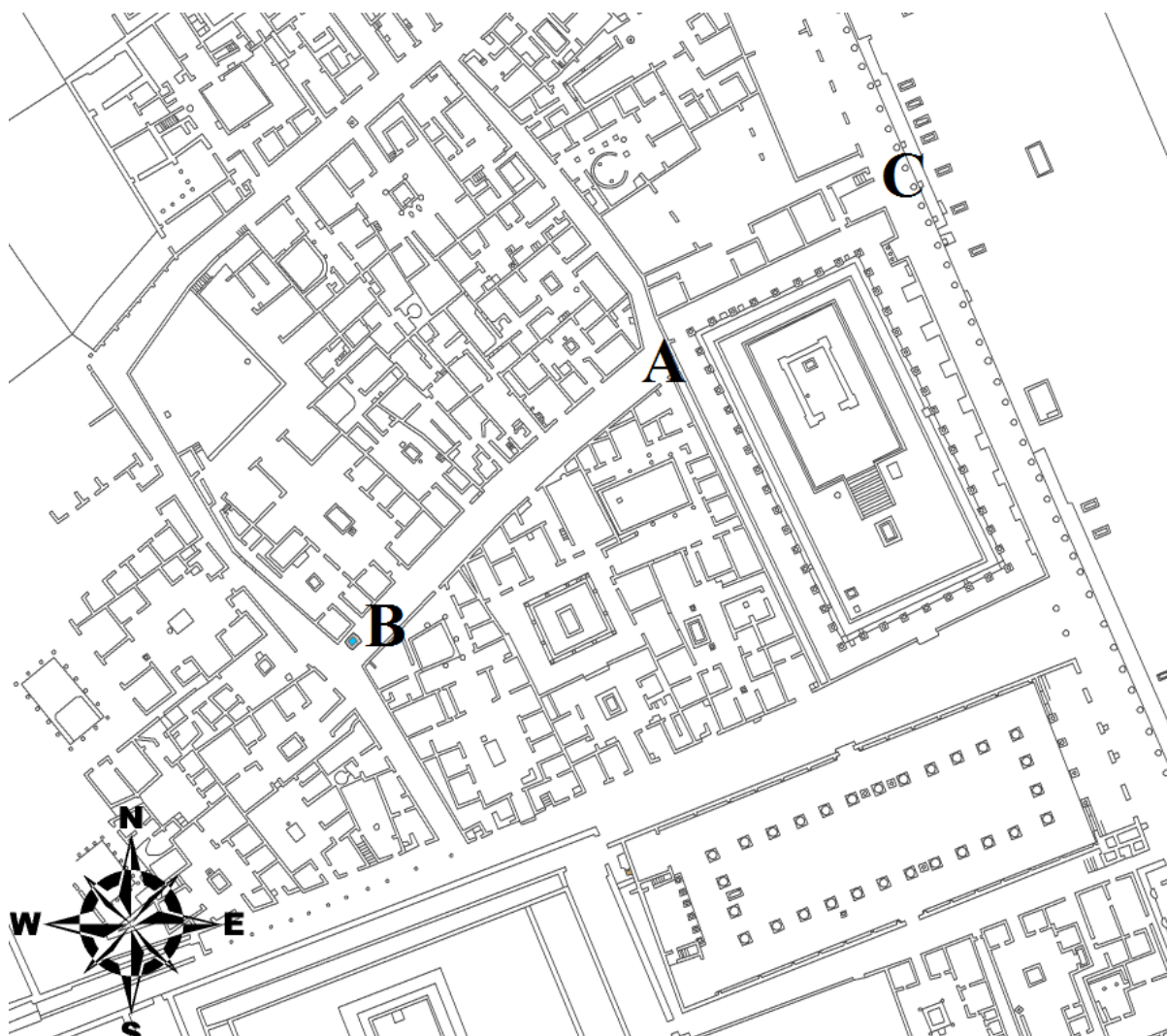


Figure 65 Area west of the forum showing the segregated street network after the development of the Sanctuary of Apollo. A: blockage of Vico del Gallo by *temenos* wall. B: contemporary or later blockage of Vico del Gallo, forcing traffic around the *insula*. C: earlier junction of Vico del Gallo with the forum (Base plan courtesy of Eric E. Poehler).

However, while the precinct may have conceded to the forum, there was no such concession for the streets on the west and the north. Here we can see a significant alteration to the nature of space. Where Vico del Gallo had previously continued towards the area of the forum, the expanded rear of the precinct suppressed this street. In the same way, where Vicolo Storto Nuovo had previously continued towards Via Marina, the expansion of the precinct narrowed the street to nothing more than a void between the *temenos* and the easternmost wall of the Casa di Trittolemo (VII 7.2).⁶⁴⁴ This was then blocked at both ends. This contrasts with Mau's

⁶⁴⁴ These changes are described in detail in Dobbins *et al.* 1998. *CIL* X 787 details the negotiations between the *duumviri* and the owners of this property, dated to ca. 10 B.C. The negotiation relates to

suggestion that the new colonnade of the precinct formed a “public thoroughfare”, on the line of Vicolo Storto Nuovo.⁶⁴⁵ Instead, we are looking at the decision to expand the sanctuary and block two streets west of the forum.⁶⁴⁶ This is an important moment in the reduction of the through movement potential of the forum and in its redefinition as a space within the wider city. However, similar changes can be observed to the east of the forum which further divorced it from the street network of which it had earlier been an integral part (fig. 65).

East of the forum, another street was probably blocked in this period. This relates to the construction of the Building of Eumachia (VII 9.1) and the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus (VII 9.2), which stood to the south and north, respectively, of Vicolo degli Scheletri.⁶⁴⁷ The Building of Eumachia occupied the entire space of a pre-existing *insula* that had been surrounded by the forum to the west, Vicolo di Eumachia to the east, Via dell’Abbondanza to the south and Vicolo degli Scheletri to the north. It was most likely constructed in the first decade B.C. or A.D.⁶⁴⁸ This Augustan date has led to parallels being drawn with the *Porticus Liviae* in Rome, dedicated in 7 B.C.⁶⁴⁹ The Sanctuary of the Genius

the blocking of light, which indicates the presence of a window in the eastern wall of the house, opening onto the earlier street.

⁶⁴⁵ Mau 1899: 85.

⁶⁴⁶ It is this blockage that precedes the insertion of the fountain on Vico del Gallo and the resulting changes to patterns of movement around *insula* VII. 15, examined in Newsome 2009b.

⁶⁴⁷ According to Franklin 2001: 33 we should more properly refer to the Building of Eumachia as the *Porticus Concordiae Augustae Pietatique*. This thesis uses the more common name of its benefactor.

⁶⁴⁸ *CIL* X 810-1 both record the dedication. On the date, Mau preferred to consider it Tiberian (1899: 111), while Descoedres links it to the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, decreed by the Senate in Rome in A.D. 22, and therefore pushes it back to the third decade A.D. (2007: 17). Dobbins dated the building “with considerable confidence” to the first decade A.D. (1994: 647).

⁶⁴⁹ D’Arms 1988: 53–4; Zanker 1990: 320; Richardson 1988: 198 and most emphatically 1978: 268. This helps also resolve some issues of the date of the new building. D’Arms 1988: 64 suggests that if the *Porticus Liviae* was built in 7 B.C., we might date the Building of Eumachia to not earlier than five years later. Similarly, Richardson 1988: 197, following Mau 1899: 115, argued that the building cannot predate the *Forum Augustum*, since the sculpture gallery in the *chalcidicum* is clearly inspired by the *summi viri* in Rome. He therefore prefers a date not earlier than A.D. 2 or 3. All of these

of Augustus was constructed to the north of the street but, unlike the Building of Eumachia, its layout was not based entirely on the *insula* into which it was constructed. Maiuri's excavations were not able to resolve the issue of what this sanctuary replaced, though it may be that the *tabernae* from beneath the Building of Eumachia were also present to the north of the street.⁶⁵⁰ Whatever preceded it, the layout of Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus deviated slightly from the layout of the *insula* (the limits of which are established by the earlier Casa delle Nozze di Ercole), in order to match the orientation of the Temple of Jupiter and the forum piazza. This had the effect of diverting the structure southwards and narrowing the existing street.

At the western end, where formerly the street would have run into the forum, a wall was constructed that linked the two buildings and blocked access (fig. 67A). Again, this is an important step in the chronological development of Pompeii's forum. The *opus testaceum* façade joined the two structures, while further east another wall was constructed between the exterior of the southwest corner of the Casa delle Nozze di Ercole and the north wall of the Building of Eumachia. This second wall, Dobbins argued, dated from after the earthquake of A.D. 62.⁶⁵¹ He was unsure of whether or not a blockage further east was pre- or post-earthquake. The wall that links the two structures belongs to the final phase, the same as the three rooms behind the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus.⁶⁵² However, this alone does not mean that the street was open into the forum until after A.D. 62, since it may replicate an

suggestions infer that the Building of Eumachia, including the *chalcidicum* and associated sculptural and epigraphic materials, was constructed in one uninterrupted project and that there were no subsequent changes made to the structure.

⁶⁵⁰ Maiuri 1942: 45; 1973: 88-9. The later excavations revealed small rectangular buildings, of uncertain use and provenance.

⁶⁵¹ Dobbins 1994: 690-1.

⁶⁵² Dobbins 2007: 181 refers to "the post-62 united façade". The rooms to the east of the sanctuary were identified by Maiuri as commercial, not religious, structures (1942: 48).

earlier scheme. There are indications that the street may have fallen out of use in the Augustan period, which we must consider.

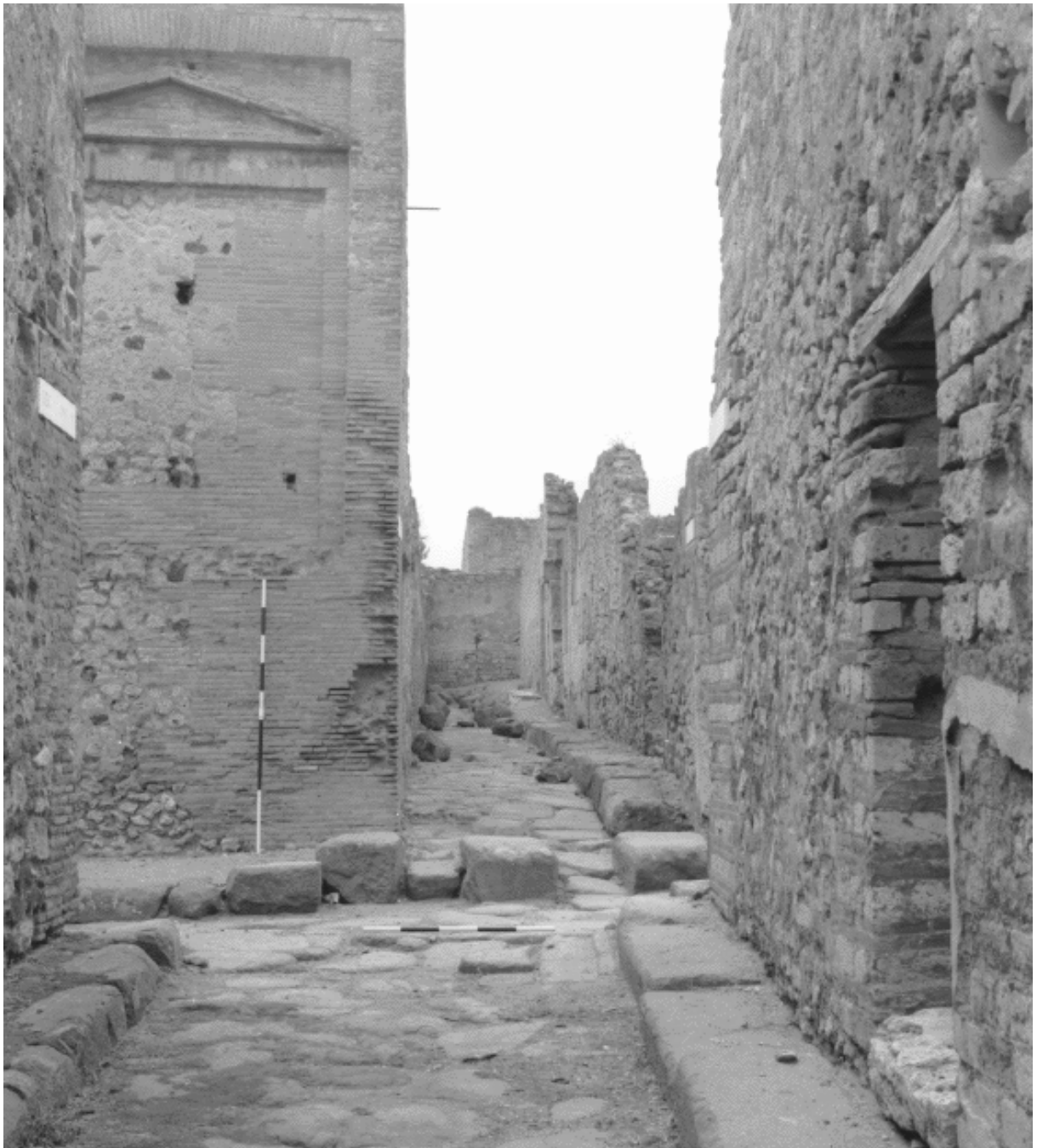


Figure 66 View looking west along Vicolo degli Scheletri, showing the Building of Eumachia and the blockage of the street near the forum. The Building of Eumachia suppresses the street and removes the pedestrian sidewalk.

The long edge of the Building of Eumachia which faces Via dell'Abbondanza is elaborately decorated.⁶⁵³ The same decoration is also present on the east exterior wall, facing Vicolo di Eumachia. Given the grand nature of the project, this may not be surprising. However, there is a telling lack of decoration on the north exterior wall along Vicolo degli Scheletri. This contrast, I would argue, is indicative of the dominant flows of movement and is therefore indicative of the expected patterns of use of Vicolo degli Scheletri.⁶⁵⁴ I would argue that this indicates that the blocking of the street was anticipated in the design or early stages of construction and that there was an awareness that the street would no longer function as a thoroughfare. This can be further supported by examining the relationship of the building to the street itself. Vicolo degli Scheletri continued eastwards to Vico del Lupanare, and was bordered on both sides by a sidewalk. A sidewalk is also present on the north side of Vicolo degli Scheletri opposite the Building of Eumachia, which gradually widens as it approaches the forum. However, on the south of the street the pavement has been wholly suppressed (fig. 66). Compare this to the rest of the *insula* and we see the use of space reflecting expected patterns of movement. The sidewalk on the Via dell'Abbondanza is extremely wide and that contiguous with the Building of Eumachia on Vicolo di Eumachia is wider than at any other point on the street.⁶⁵⁵ Sidewalks therefore varied around the property, and this variation seems

⁶⁵³ Dobbins 1994: 650–1 on the shallow bays with alternating triangular and segmented pediments, in both materials and execution “of the highest standard”.

⁶⁵⁴ We can compare this to the porticus of the ‘Basilica’ at Herculaneum. The sides facing traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian, were fitted with conspicuous marble revetment, while the “practically invisible south side” was simply plastered and painted white. Following the blockage of Cardo III, traffic was rerouted and the visual effect of the building designed accordingly. See Najbjerg 2002: 149.

⁶⁵⁵ The average width of sidewalks along the length of the streets can be compared to their specific width where they are contiguous with the Building of Eumachia: Via dell'Abbondanza = 2.75m average widens to 2.80m; Vicolo di Eumachia = 0.95m widens to 1.71m; Vicolo degli Scheletri north side = 0.51m average widens to 0.64m; Vicolo degli Scheletri south side = 0.50m average, suppressed. Figures from Nissen 1877. The present author plans to refine this data into a case study of chronologies of movement east of the forum over the first century A.D.

congruent with levels of use. The decision not to have a pavement on the north side of the Building of Eumachia supports the view that the street was no longer expected to be used, as does the similar intrusion of the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus (fig. 67C).

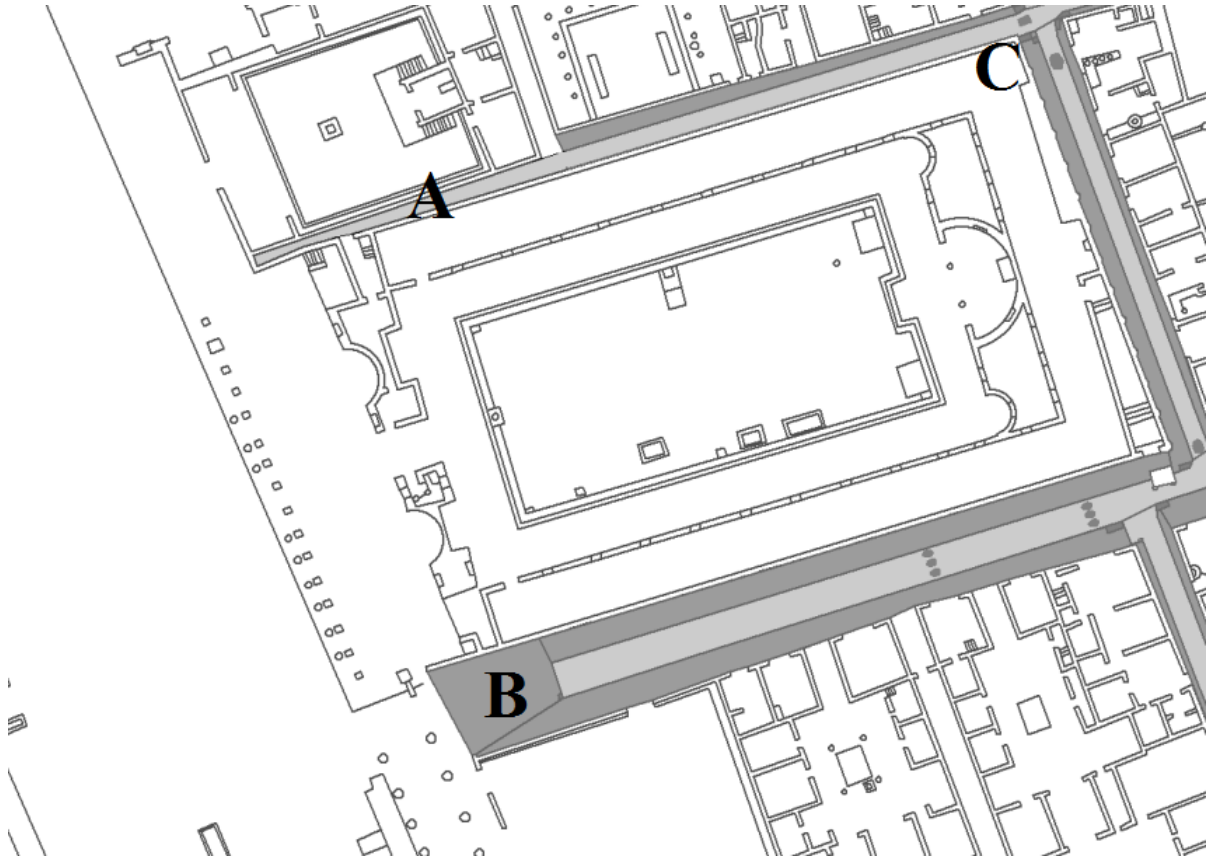


Figure 67 Area around the Building of Eumachia and the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus. A: blockage of Vicolo degli Scheletri. B: blockage of via dell'Abbondanza to vehicles. C: end of pavement around the *insula*. (Base plan courtesy of Eric E. Poehler).

To this phase we might also add the blockage of Via dell'Abbondanza (fig. 67B and fig. 68), with three upright stones at its western end, where it met the border of the forum. Beyond these upright stones, the new *chalcidicum* of the Building of Eumachia extended south and joined the earlier Porticus of Popidius. At the north of the forum we can add the arches which flanked the Temple of Jupiter. Again, these have been related to models in Rome.⁶⁵⁶ These arches have an effect on the practicality of controlling access, and also narrow the roadway

⁶⁵⁶ Zanker 1990: 326–8, be they the arches in the Forum Augustum by the *aedes Martis Ultoris* or in the Forum Romanum by the *aedes Divi Iuli* (Chapter 3).

where it entered the forum. A single arch flanked the Temple of Jupiter at its southeast corner, while another arch separated the forum from the junction of Vico dei Soprastanti, Via degli Augustali and Via del Foro. To construct this arch it was necessary to narrow the original curb on Vico dei Soprastanti, which was then built outwards into the carriageway, narrowing the street as it passed the rear of the forum (fig.69C). Wheel ruts run beneath, and therefore predate, the later arch.⁶⁵⁷ This indicates the levels of vehicle traffic that had previously used the area, while vividly demonstrating the change in spatial practice brought about by the new arrangement.



Figure 68 View looking west showing the upright paving stones that blocked vehicle access to the forum from Via dell'Abbondanza (Photo courtesy of Eric E. Poehler).

⁶⁵⁷ Recorded by Arthur 1986: 37–8.

5.1.2 Changes between A.D. 62-79

The changes identified in the Julio-Claudian period began to redefine the shape of the forum and its relationship with the wider city. This continued in the final phase of the city, following the earthquake of A.D. 62. Obvious though it may seem, it is important to recognise that while the changes detailed in this section are from a period of just 17 years, they are products of long-term urbanism related to the management and design of movement and space in the late-first century A.D. By examining what was repaired and rebuilt in the years following the earthquake, we can infer what was important to the citizens of Pompeii: and so consider their 'urban disposition'. Importantly, the relatively short time frame of 17 years allows us to consider rebuilding in a similar way to how we approached the imperial fora in Rome: they reveal conceived space. The earthquake provided the opportunity to reshape space, not through gradual transformation by spatial practice, but through design. In this context, it is interesting that many of the changes were focussed on redefining the relationship between the forum and the city. Changes to movement and access do not necessarily reflect practical concerns and may strengthen the idea that the developments we observe in the forum at Pompeii have less to do with local context and more to do with following the cultural construction of central space as it was being redefined in Rome over the first century A.D.

The final phase is, in Dobbins' model of the development of the forum, dominated by architectural renewal that sought to link the forum with its neighbouring streets.⁶⁵⁸ This reading omits the fact that while certain entrances were developed, others were shut off altogether. The development of the forum in this period is not a straightforward case of aggrandisement in order to better link this space with the wider city. Rather there are choices

⁶⁵⁸ Dobbins 1997: 68; see also Westfall 2007: 137–8 for a similar attitude to how the forum was designed to relate to the rest of the city.

about movement and accessibility that, if considered in detail, might produce a more balanced reading of both the motives for and the effects of urban change.

We can begin with the buildings to the northwest of the forum, in the area north of the Sanctuary of Apollo. Here a series of structures appear to come from a single phase of construction, after the earthquake.⁶⁵⁹ The largest of these was ca. 35m long (VII 7.29), along the western edge of the forum besides the Temple of Jupiter.⁶⁶⁰ North of this long structure stood a large public latrine, with a staggered entrance from within the forum colonnade.⁶⁶¹ Two further small buildings completed this unit, though they were entered from Vico dei Soprastanti. This new unit of buildings blocked the street which ran south from Vico dei Soprastanti towards the forum and which had most likely, before the expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo, connected with the eastern stretch of Vico del Gallo.⁶⁶² This completed the segregation of the local grid west of the forum; a process which began with the changes to the Sanctuary of Apollo in the Augustan period.

On the eastern side of the forum we find the blocking of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile by the façade that joined the Macellum and the Imperial Cult Building (fig. 69A). This structure comprehensively blocked access to the forum from the *insula* to the east, where earlier there had been two routes opening onto the piazza. Dobbins' has routinely seen the

⁶⁵⁹ Maiuri 1942: 31.

⁶⁶⁰ Mau 1899: 54 considered this a market house, devoted to other branches of trade not housed in the Macellum at the northeast of the forum. Maiuri 1943: 30-4 likened it to Pompeii's *forum Holitorium*. Richardson 1988: 275 contends that the building would have been unsuitable for the storage of grain while, in any case, it does not appear to have been completed or in use by A.D. 79 (Maiuri 1942: 34).

⁶⁶¹ Richardson 1988: 276 suggests that the latrine could accommodate 20 people, although we should not extrapolate the level of activity in the forum from this figure alone. See Hobson 2009.

⁶⁶² It is possible that this street was blocked in the previous phase following the truncation of Vico del Gallo, but it is equally possible that it opened into the space now accessible from VII 7.30, which gave access to the forum, and which may have been a place to leave animals during market hours. The relationship of this space to the rooms which join the northern perimeter wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo is not clear and would benefit from further attention.

blockage of the street as a “concomitant feature” of the architectural developments around the northeast corner of the forum.⁶⁶³ We can consider this blockage to be a key step in the transformation of the relationship between the forum and the wider city.

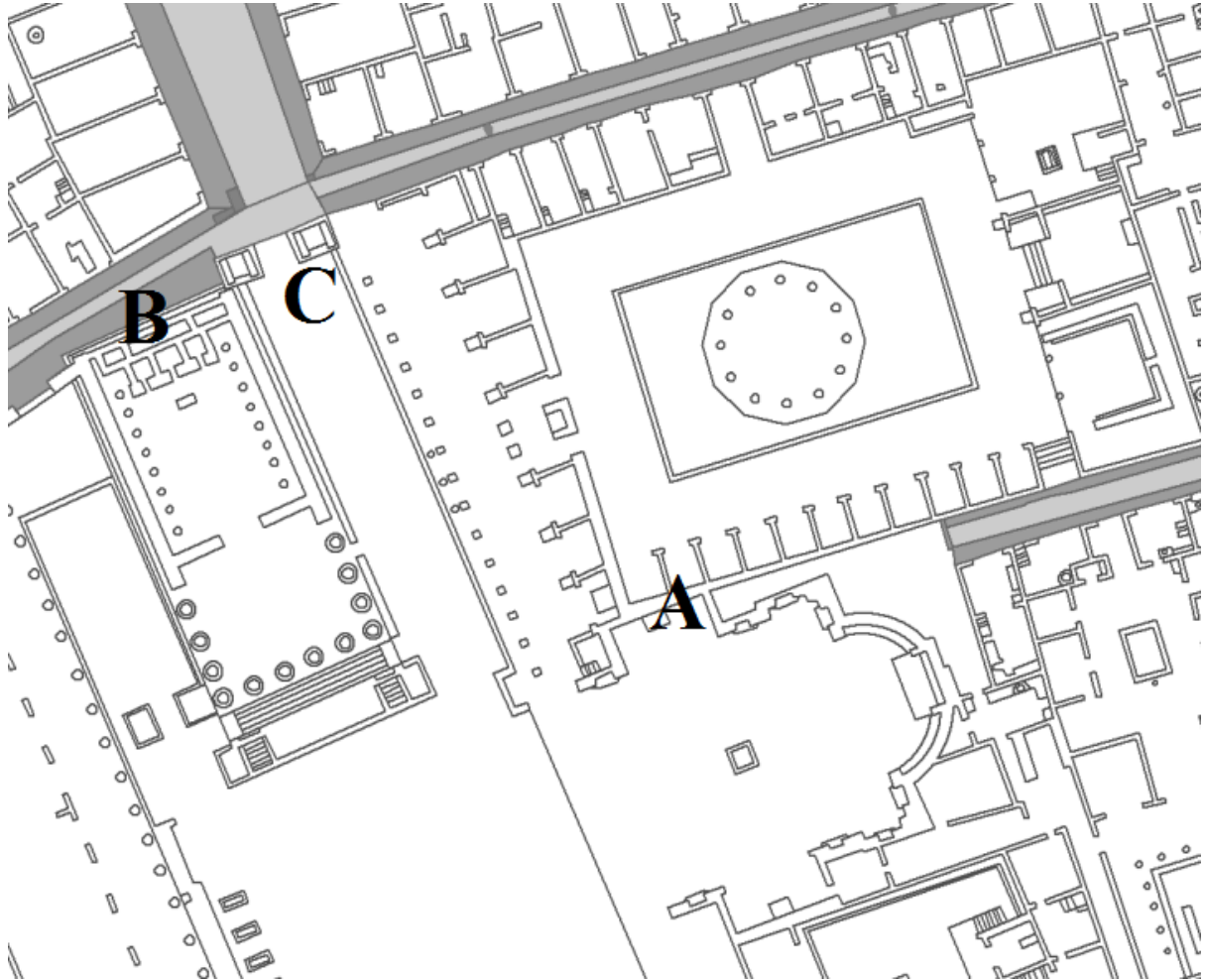


Figure 69 Plan of the northeast corner of the forum. A: blockage of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile. B: Truncation of vico dei Soprastanti. C: Arch, inaccessible for vehicle traffic. (Base plan courtesy of Eric E. Poehler).

The alignment of the streets and the *insulae* in this area before A.D. 62 is relatively clear. Certainly, the Macellum followed the line of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile to the south and Via degli Augustali to the north. It is not clear what occupied the space later used for the Imperial Cult Building, although it is probable that this structure did not intrude on the course of

⁶⁶³ Dobbins 1994: 680 and 689: “the multiple functioning individual elements reveals a planning mentality that transcends the specific in achieving a unity of the whole”. This may be so, but there is no consideration of how that “unity” reshapes the spatial practice of this area.

Vicolo del Balcone Pensile where it entered the forum. However, Mau suggested that this street was closed from the time of Augustus, based on the assumption that the Imperial Cult Building was an Augustan-period project.⁶⁶⁴ Wallat also preferred to consider the blockage to be pre-earthquake. Like Dobbins, he noted that the southernmost *tabernae* of the Macellum façade bonded with the north wall of the Imperial Cult Building and was, therefore, contemporary. However, Wallat observed traces of Third Style decoration in the southwest corner of the Imperial Cult Building, and so this and the *tabernae* – and thus the blockage of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile – must pre-date A.D. 62.⁶⁶⁵ In response, Dobbins suggests that the Third Style decoration belonged to the wall of the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus, from the early Augustan period.⁶⁶⁶ Accordingly, neither the Imperial Cult Building, the southernmost *tabernae* or the blockage of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile can be securely dated to before the earthquake.

That the façade which joined the Macellum and the Imperial Cult Building blocked the street is not a new observation. Maiuri recognised this in his discussion of the final phase of the Macellum, noting that structural developments came at the expense of the thoroughfare.⁶⁶⁷ The same fundamental alteration was noted by De Ruyt, who also considered this to be a legacy of the final reconstructions of the Macellum.⁶⁶⁸ Dobbins was rather dismissive of this spatial change, characterising Vicolo del Balcone Pensile as “a fragmenting element of the plan”.⁶⁶⁹ This reading of space betrays a deeper interest in the relationship between the piazza and its borders, rather than between the forum and the wider city. Still, he rightly noted that the removal of the streets from the east had the practical effect of rerouting traffic to the northeast corner of the forum. It is here that we find the post-earthquake elaboration of the

⁶⁶⁴ Mau 1899: 102.

⁶⁶⁵ Wallat 1993: 359.

⁶⁶⁶ Dobbins 1996: 107.

⁶⁶⁷ Maiuri 1942: 56.

⁶⁶⁸ De Ruyt 1983: 141.

⁶⁶⁹ Dobbins 1994: 690.

entrance, including the insertion of a new pedestrian arch (fig. 69C and fig. 70).⁶⁷⁰ What Maiuri approached, more than Dobbins or others, was recognition of the importance of this change for the character of the forum as a space. To him, this change was not just a concomitant feature but it represented a complete change in the *nature* of this space.⁶⁷¹



Figure 70 View looking north out of the forum through the arch. Note the upright blocking stones at the end of Via del Foro. (Photo = Valentin Kockel).

⁶⁷⁰ Dobbins 1994: 680–1; Westfall 2007: 136 suggested that all other entrances “pale in comparison” with this. The work of the Universität Augsburg is continuing to investigate this area, and have concluded that the asymmetrical design of this arch is due to its location on a pre-existing wall that surrounded the forum. This needs further study but would have significant implications for this discussion and our understanding of how the forum was demarcated from the surrounding streets. This wall is entirely absent from Dobbins’ discussions, and represents a new development in the study of the forum. See Kockel 2005 for more on the wider research project.

⁶⁷¹ Maiuri 1942: 56.

As noted earlier in this work, a new examination of the forum at Pompeii, by the Universität Augsburg, is in progress. We can briefly communicate some of the initial findings here. Most significantly, the investigation has revealed evidence for the restructuring of statuary within the forum. A large equestrian statue base was removed at some point in the first century A.D., while three fountains were removed from the plaza. This may be significant for understanding how the forum was used. The apparent relocation of statuary can be considered in terms of changing patterns of movement over time, discussed below, in which we can postulate a change in the *locus celeberrimus* of Pompeii's forum and, therefore, a change in the spaces of publicity. As noted in Chapter 2, fountains have the effect of bringing people together in space, and are often found at busy junctions which we might consider *loci celeberrimi*. Their removal from the forum at Pompeii should be seen as part of a broader redefinition of this space, and of the spatial practice that was either permissible or tolerated therein.

In addition, and extremely significant for the theme of movement around the forum, the ongoing investigations have revealed evidence for barriers that were fixed between the intercolumniations in the southern and eastern porticoes (fig. 71).⁶⁷² These should remind us of the *cancelli* discussed in Chapter 3 and possibly located around the Porticus Absidata (Chapter 4). As we will see later in this chapter, such barriers feature in a depiction of the forum at Pompeii dating from the mid- to late- first century A.D (figs. 71 and 76). The physical evidence for barriers of this kind represents an important discovery which contributes to our understanding of Pompeii's forum. Moreover, they provide evidence which vindicates a detailed reading of the finer points of access and movement. These barriers would

⁶⁷² See Kockel 2005 and, more recently Kockel & Flecke 2009 for a preliminary report. Prof. Valentin Kockel (pers. comm., January 2010) informed me that the evidence indicates barriers of two different types which were probably not contemporary. This is an intriguing point and one that will help to understand the enclosure of the forum as a process, over the first centuries B.C. and A.D. The next stage of the project was due to begin in February 2010. Prof. Kockel termed this an "interesting – but predictable – phenomenon". Given the broader changes discussed in this thesis, he is right to have expected such evidence.

limit access or channel crowds, and must be understood within the context of the broader redefinition of space outlined here: the transformation of the forum from an important urban node to a space that was segregated from movement around it.

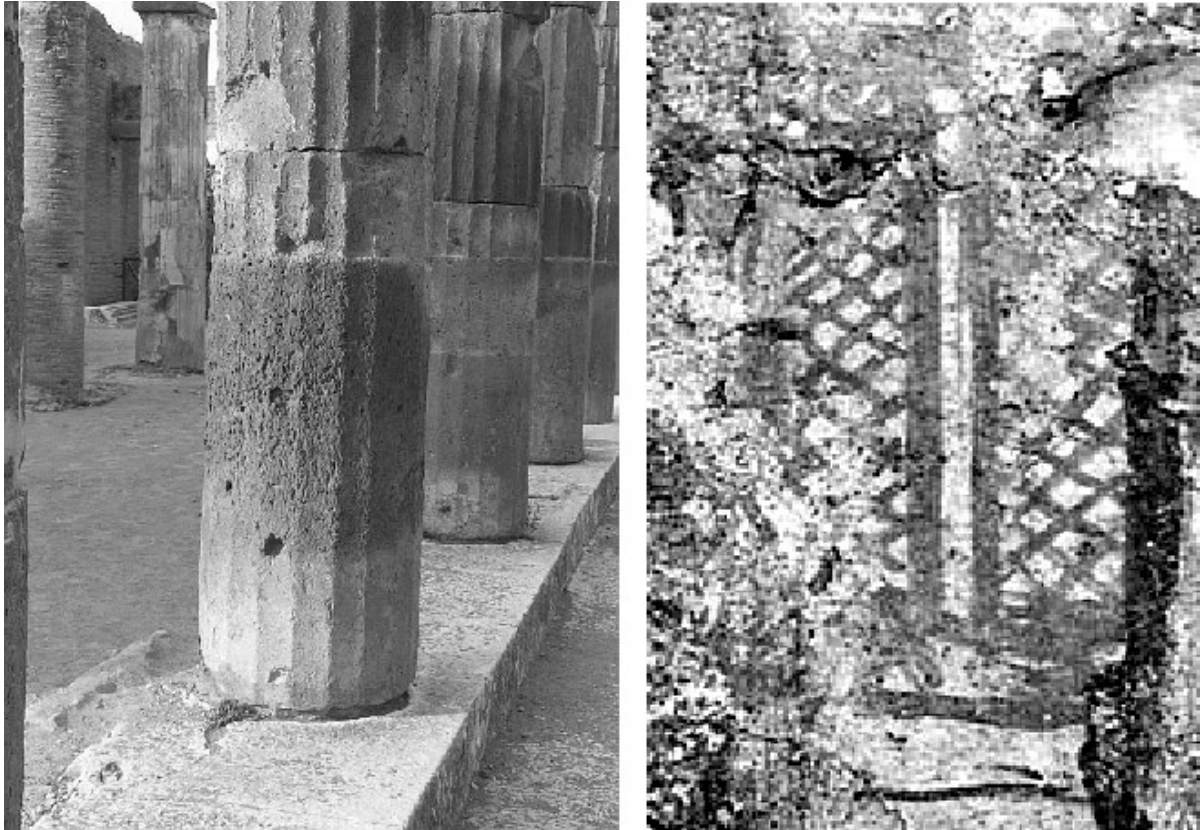


Figure 71 Barriers around the forum at Pompeii. Left: View of the southern portico from the forum at Pompeii, showing the traces of barriers. (Photo = Valentin Kockel). Right: image from the frescoes of the *praedium* of Iulia Felix, showing a *cancellus*.

5.2 DESCRIBING CHANGE: THE CHANGING INTEGRATION OF POMPEII'S FORUM

In the second and first century B.C., the forum at Pompeii was an important urban node, with many routes running to and through it. Although it is off-centre in the developing space of the city, it would have been a space passed through on many other routes, rather like the disposition of the Forum Romanum to natural movement. In the early imperial period we have the significant alterations east of the forum caused by the expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo, as well as the probable blockage of Vicolo degli Scheletri. On this latter street,

however, the effect of removing Vicolo degli Scheletri was to increase the importance of Vicolo di Eumachia in local patterns of movement, since one alternative route had been removed (similar to the increased use of the *Argiletum* in Rome following the blockage of the Corneta, discussed in Chapter 3). Although the forum remained the most integrated space in this period, the removal of two streets that entered it from the west and east affected the relationship between the forum and movement in the immediate, local environment. Again, because Vicolo degli Scheletri was blocked, the use of Vicolo di Eumachia (north-south) and Vicolo del Balcone Pensile (east-west) would have increased. The same might be said from the blockage of Via dell'Abbondanza, though as noted it is not clear at what time the upright stones were erected. We can probably relate this change to the broader change of space in that area with the construction of the Building of Eumachia and its *chalcidicum*. Therefore, relatively speaking, the forum not only lost two or three routes into it but the loss of one of these routes increased the relative through movement potential of nearby spaces. It is thus possible to see the emergence of strong routes that pass *around* the forum rather than through it. The same is true on the west, where the blockage of Vico del Gallo rerouted traffic north around *insula* VII 15 and increased the relative importance of Vico dei Soprastanti. In this period, then, we can recognise the first signs of the forum losing through movement potential, and the emergence of important routes that bypassed the forum rather than passed through it.

This continued in the final years of the city, at which point the acceleration of change can be read as the exploitation of an opportunity (the rebuilding after the earthquake) to further redefine the forum so that it more closely resembled the nature of fora in contemporary Rome. Being so closely related to the rebuilding work following the earthquake, the blockage of streets and the redefinition of through movement potential and access is revealed to be a high priority in the redevelopment of urban space. It is to this phase that we can assign the blockage of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile, the erection of the colonnade around the piazza, which separated Via Marina and also created two distinct units of space in

the forum: the piazza and the flanking porticoes. We also see the development of the arches to the north, between the Macellum and the Temple of Jupiter. All of these relate to the management of vehicle movement in particular and all contribute to further redefining the relationship between the forum and the wider city. As noted, at some point in this chronology we must account for the insertion of barriers around, at least, the southern and eastern sides of the piazza.

We can relate this basic shift to known archaeological data. As we saw in Chapter 2, the location of statuary was often chosen to exploit patterns of movement and place prominent visual propaganda in the *locus celeberrimus*. In the forum at Pompeii, we find the first major grouping of statuary to be around the south of the piazza, near the Porticus of Popidius, on the major cross-axis of the Via Marina and the Via dell'Abbondanza.⁶⁷³ By the late-first century A.D., the focus of statuary had shifted to the northeast of the forum, facing into the portico that lined the edge of the piazza.⁶⁷⁴ In this context, the removal of statuary identified by the ongoing investigations within the forum (discussed above) is all the more intriguing. If the same basic principles dictated the choice of the location of a statue, something needs to be said of this fundamental shift of focus. The changes to the relationship of the forum over the first century A.D. provide an explanation for this shift. We can reconstruct a shift in the dominant areas of movement, as well as in the type of movement at those particular locations. What one might argue is that where the *locus celeberrimus* of Pompeii's forum had formerly been to the south, by A.D. 79 it was to the northeast.⁶⁷⁵ As patterns of movement changed, so too did the location of statuary seeking publicity.

⁶⁷³ Zanker 1988: 32–3 and abb. 14.

⁶⁷⁴ Zanker 1988: abb. 12.

⁶⁷⁵ The present author plans to develop and publish this theory with Dr. Francesco Trifilò. I would further contend that the blockage of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile expedited the new focus on the northeast corner. Dobbins is clear that there is more than one phase to the post-A.D. 62 redesign of this area (Dobbins 1994: 670, in contrast to Maiuri's theories of a single phase of construction: 1942: 54-61; 1973: 75–88). I would argue that this can be explained by increased traffic from Via degli

The descriptive chronology in this chapter has demonstrated, as we have also seen in Rome, that individual building projects have wider repercussions on patterns of space than is often appreciated. Moreover, we have seen the way in which the accumulated effects of change contribute to the redefinition of the nature of a particular urban space. In this example, as in Rome, we see a change in the way the forum related to the wider city. We can reduce the overall patterns to the general statement that the forum changes from being a place one might move *through* to a place one would move *to*. As we have seen, in the second and through the first century B.C. the forum was an important node in the landscape for cross-region movement. It would have been incorporated into a large number of routes from two other points, and its primary role might be considered as a connective space. By A.D. 79 the forum no longer has the same through movement potential within the wider city, nor the same level of influence on shortcut routes that define hierarchies of natural movement.

The change in the nature of the forum can be related to different categories of movement. We have already demonstrated how significant this is in the case studies from Rome, where space was accessible to one type of traffic but not another. This has been most egregiously demonstrated with the example of the exclusion of vehicles from the Markets of Trajan and, just as importantly, the Forum Nervae. We can recall Bianchini's remarks about the development of a rigorously pedestrianised zone in Rome.⁶⁷⁶ Although he was discussing the nature of space following the Domitianic and Trajanic interventions, some decades later, we can identify something similar in Pompeii.

The blockage of streets on the west and the east of the forum meant that they were not passable by any form of movement. Other blockages, however, were specifically related to Augustali following the blocking of Vicolo del Balcone Pensile. This may call for a rethink of the extent to which the post-A.D. 62 forum was orchestrated to a "masterplan" and a "single anonymous designer" (Dobbins 1994: 693). Instead we may be seeing adaptation even within the very brief chronological window of A.D. 62-79, demonstrating the importance of movement as generative of urban change.

⁶⁷⁶ Bianchini 1992: 156.

vehicle movement and could, we can assume, be ignored by the pedestrian user. This is the case when we consider intercolumniations, which were too narrow to allow wagons to pass, or the insertion of upturned blocking stones or steps around the piazza. This allows us to consider that even where the forum was ostensibly accessible it was only accessible to a certain type of user.

The blockages removed the forum from vehicle traffic routes and created a series of detours that would have been necessary in order to move across the city by wheels. For example, vehicles entering the city from the Porta Marina had to turn left off Via Marina and make the journey north and then east, around the long detour by Vicolo del Gigante and Vico dei Soprastanti.⁶⁷⁷ Likewise any traffic approaching from the east was forced to detour around the forum by Vicolo di Eumachia. A further blockage, by the way of steps, where Via degli Augustali met Via del Foro, hindered further eastbound movement until one reached the Via della Fortuna.⁶⁷⁸ This may have caused most routes to follow Via Stabiana to the junction with Via della Fortuna, rather than try to negotiate the now obscured shortcut through *Regiones* VII and VIII.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁷ See Newsome 2009b for more on this blockage and the effects of the detour.

⁶⁷⁸ On access to the forum at this point, it is clear that a ramp on Via degli Augustali gave vehicles access to the colonnade at the northeast. This was likely related to the reconstruction effort and the need to transport materials into this space (with the entrance being the last structure built). I owe this observation to Eric E. Poehler (pers. comm.). Something similar is seen at Via delle Scuole, with evidence of vehicle use after A.D. 62 despite being blocked to vehicles since the first century B.C.

⁶⁷⁹ This may offer another explanation for the variable depth of wheel ruts on the western stretch of the Via dell'Abbondanza, see Wallace-Hadrill 1995.

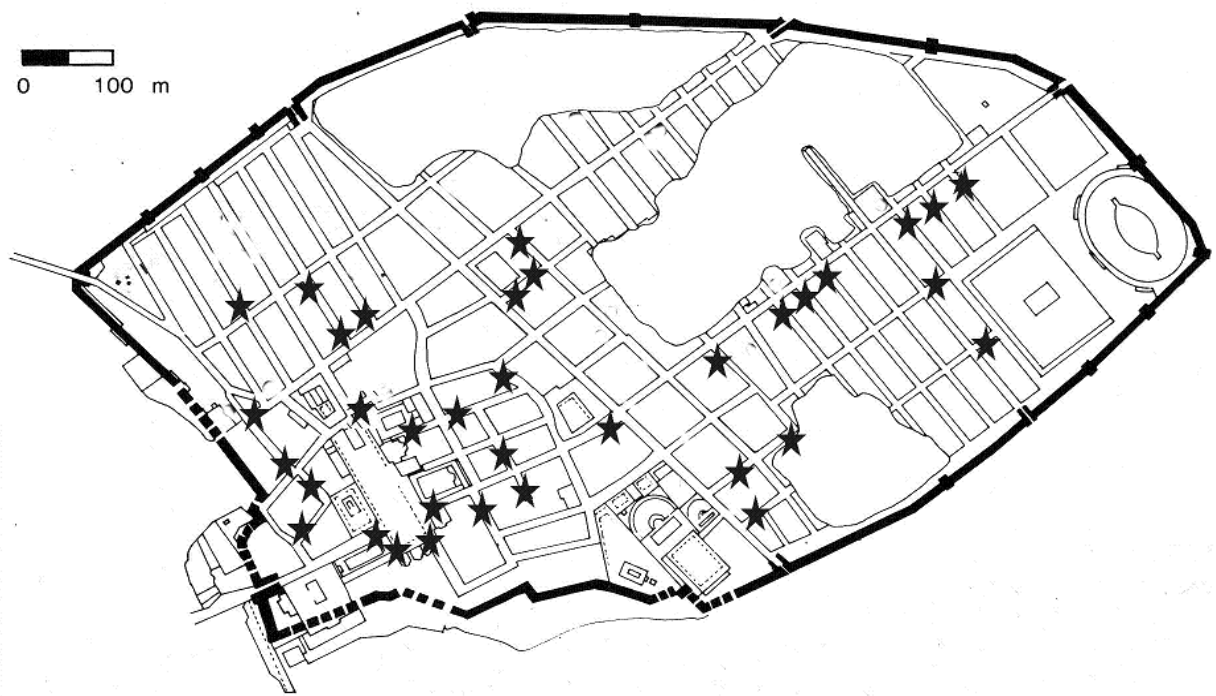


Figure 72 Map showing the blockages to wheeled traffic in Pompeii (Image courtesy of Ray Laurence).

Figure 72 shows where blockages have been found. We can note that of the 35 blockages identified here, 16 are within *Regiones* VII and VIII, and of these 6 are directly related to the forum piazza.⁶⁸⁰ Therefore, almost one fifth of all street blockages in Pompeii were related to limiting access to the ‘centre’ of the city. Given the important link between movement and centrality identified in Chapter 2, this is a remarkable state of affairs, and one that again strongly indicates how the relationship of the forum with the city was changed over time. Most of these blockages date to late in the city’s life, in the imperial period. The only earlier example is the Porticus of Popidius, which partly blocked Vico del Championnet and Via

⁶⁸⁰ These are: Via Marina (colonnade), Vicolo del Championnet (stairs to the Basilica); Via delle Scuole (Porticus of Popidius and later, more comprehensively, a fountain); Via dell’Abbondanza (upright stones); Vicolo del Balcone Pensile (blocked by buildings); Via del Foro (upright stone within the entrance arch to the forum). To this map we should also add Vicolo degli Scheletri (blocked by buildings). The northwest corner of the forum was being redeveloped at the time of the eruption (Maiuri 1942: 34), so it is not clear if this arch would have been blocked in the same way as the arch in the northeast corner.

delle Scuole. However, in both cases, these streets had secondary blockages added at some point during the first century A.D. We can thus infer a relatively consistent degree of effort to segregate the forum from vehicle traffic, particularly over the first century A.D. This corresponds with what we have identified in Rome in the previous chapters.

5.3 THE FRESCOES FROM THE *PRAEDIUM* OF IULIA FELIX

The development of Pompeii's forum, discussed above, clearly indicates the transformation of a nodal space in the landscape being redefined as a precinct space, in a way that is very similar to the trends identified in the city of Rome. At this point, I would like to consider a representation of this changing forum, and turn to the well-known frescoes from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix, dating to the third-quarter of the first century A.D.⁶⁸¹ These are not the only visual representation of urban space from Pompeii. We can think also of the fresco depicting the riot at the amphitheatre in A.D. 59, which also shows the city walls, the *palaestra*, and numerous seemingly non-permanent market-stalls in the area. This is an important source of information for how we understand the representation of movement in this area of the city. There is also the frieze from the *lararium* of L. Caecilius Iucundus (V 1.26) that depicts the earthquake in A.D. 62 and most likely shows the forum in a state of collapse. A second image from the *lararium* depicted the *castellum aquae* and the collapsed Porta di Vesuvio. This image also depicts a cart, pulled by two pack animals. In the image of the forum, there are no vehicles. How closely the frescoes from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix accurately depicted the forum is not altogether clear. Mau was intent on explaining them as realistic depictions of extant architecture, though more recent examinations prefer to consider them inspired by, but

⁶⁸¹ A large property (II.4.3) on the south of the via dell'Abbondanza. The frescoes lined the upper portions of the walls in the atrium accessible from the street.

not necessarily replications of, real life.⁶⁸² Salvatore Nappo has argued that the frescoes must be considered in their spatial context as distributed around the walls of the atrium to which they were painted, and suggests that the different frescoes correspond to different areas of the real space of the forum. The viewer in the atrium therefore takes the place of one standing in, to borrow the term from Rome, *l'area centrale*.

The relevance of the images relates to the theoretical discussion in Chapter 1: as a representation of space, the frescoes are the product of a perception of the forum that was shaped by praxis. In this brief excursus, the focus is on those elements that inform our understanding of movement and traffic through this space, namely: the representation of animals and vehicle transportation and the representation of entrances and exits. What do these fragments, together, suggest about the perception and representation of Pompeii's forum in the late-first century A.D.?⁶⁸³

5.3.1 Animals and vehicles

Sequentially, the series of frescoes begins with an image depicting a large wagon – a *plaustrum* – being pulled by two mules and, coming from or facing the opposite direction, an ass carrying a load (fig. 73).⁶⁸⁴ Columns are visible in the background, and a figure in the centre of the image appears to be wearing a tunic or toga. This arguably represents the arrival

⁶⁸² Mau 1899: 54–6. See Pappalardo & Capuano 2006 who set the frescoes in the wider context of the depiction of architecture and urban spaces. The most accessible surveys of the frescoes remains Nappo 1989 and Parslow 1995. That the frescoes depict the forum is the orthodoxy, though the exact context of the activity depicted is not clear (whether it be an ‘everyday’ scene or a representation of a particular event, such as a market day). Nappo 1989: 93 favours the latter: “la rappresentazione della vocante e brulicante vita del foro in un giorno di mercato”.

⁶⁸³ In the images presented here, the frescoes have been converted to greyscale and the contrast digitally increased (by 50%) so that the elements under discussion might appear more legible. Nappo 1989 provides full colour images.

⁶⁸⁴ Nappo 1989: 79-80 and fig. 1.

of products to the space of the forum, although this is a space *outside* of the forum, at its borders.



Figure 73 Fresco from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix (fr. 1 and 2), showing a *plaustrum* and animals (Nappo 1989: fig. 1).

Again suggesting that we are outside of the forum rather than within it, in the following scene, a bearded man with a walking stick can be seen begging to two figures. The remainder of the scene is not clear, although Nappo identifies two statues bases, one equestrian, in the background.⁶⁸⁵ Their lack of prominence and their size relative to other figures suggests they are in the distance, within the forum proper. In the next fragments, we see another mule being held by its reins (fig. 74), as the individual looks to see a horse approaching, besides what appears to be a *quadriga*. In both instances the horses are mounted by riders, and the position of their hooves suggests motion, in distinct contrast to the mule at the left of the image or those discussed above. The relevance of these riders for movement in the forum is not clear. A *quadriga* could not be accommodated in the forum, and it may be that the image represents yet more statuary (although not on plinths, as elsewhere) or perhaps pertains to street activity outside of the forum.

⁶⁸⁵ Nappo 1989: 80, fig. 2.



Figure 74 Fresco from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix (fr. 7 and 8), showing animals (Nappo 1989: fig. 4).

The images discussed above are the only ones that depict animals for transport or vehicles, and they appear in contexts related to movement to the forum but not movement through it. While we need not necessarily try and locate these scenes in the topography of the forum, we will recall the suggestion that the open area to the west of the forum, behind the Sanctuary of Apollo, was a place for animals to be held while commercial activity was conducted in the forum itself. This may be the context of the images discussed above. In any case, they indicate a rift between movement through the city and movement through the forum. These animals and the *plaustrum* appear to have gone as far as the forum edge, but they do not then appear within it. This suggests that a key perception of this space was its pedestrian nature.



Figure 75 Fresco from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix (fr. 11), showing an arch at the left (Nappo 1989: fig. 7).

5.3.2 Entrances and exits

Although the images discussed above represent the movement of things to the forum, none of the frescoes unambiguously depict the transitional space from outside to within. Fragment 11 (fig. 75) may be the most likely candidate because it appears to depict an architectural feature that is not part of the columns but more closely resembles an arch, with the curve legible at the top left of the image. This has been identified as the arch that marked the northeast entrance to the forum, besides the Temple of Jupiter.⁶⁸⁶ While we might refrain from being so specific, we can nonetheless note that, recalling Cicero's comments on the *fornix Fabianus* (Chapter 3), we have something of a bottleneck and a busy pedestrian space.

⁶⁸⁶ For example, by Etienne 1973: 217: accanto a un arco, nelle vicinanze del tempio capitolino (accepted by Nappo 1989: 94).

The most conspicuous feature relating to movement in the area of the forum is arguably a relatively minor part of the scene in which it is depicted. This is significant for demonstrating that while not a principal part of the scene it is still shown because it informs the perception and representation of that space. Figure 76 shows a variety of figures in the foreground with a row of columns in the background. Interestingly there is less of a distinction between the forum and the foreground space (which may be the piazza, the interior of the colonnade, or neither), with some figures clearly in front of the columns and some clearly behind them. To the right of the image can be seen a gate: its form is reminiscent of the kind discussed around the Forum Romanum in Rome, or perhaps representing the kind found around the southern portico (discussed above). It is important to consider that the gate was included in a representation of the space of the forum. This indicates the perceived nature of this space, just as much as the varied scenes of game playing and social interaction that occupies the majority of the scene.



Figure 76 Fresco from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix (fr. 15), showing the *cancellus* (Nappo 1989: fig. 11).

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

The series of frescoes from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix represent the forum in Pompeii as a *locus celeberrimus*. The only things that appear to be excluded from this busy space of statues, traders, men, women, children, *togati* and plebeians, are vehicles. Moreover, if we follow Nappo's reading and infer that the scheme intended to depict all the edges of the forum, from the point of view of one standing in the centre of the piazza, then it is curious how there are no streets running into the scene at any point. Unlike the depiction of the Forum Romanum on the *Anaglypha Traiani* which conspicuously depicted the *vicus Tuscus* as a blank space, indicating movement into the area, the frescoes from Pompeii do not mark permeability. In other words, the routes running into the forum are not considered to be topographically or representationally significant. Where transitional space is clear, this is marked through the depiction of gates, of the kind for which evidence has recently been discovered around the south and east sides of the square.⁶⁸⁷

This is a representation of space from the later Julio-Claudian period. The frescoes date from between A.D. 50 and 79, and therefore to a period in transition: both physically in terms of the architectural changes that were redefining the space of the forum and, inseparably related to this, culturally in terms of a broader redefinition of forum space based on the urban disposition evident in Rome. The forum depicted in the frescoes from the *praedium* of Iulia Felix corresponds to the spatial trends identified for the same, or slightly earlier, period in Rome: the progressive restriction on space, evidenced by the exclusion of vehicles, the pedestrian space of the arch, and the appearance of a *cancellus* gate.

Of course, we cannot relate this forum scene to the development of the imperial fora under the Flavians as discussed in Chapter 4, because the egregious changes occur in the 80s and 90s A.D., in the decades following Pompeii's destruction. Nevertheless, both physically,

⁶⁸⁷ Nappo considered this particular image to depict the western border of the forum, near the Sanctuary of Apollo. If that is a correct interpretation, then the *cancellus* depicted may indicate that the barriers so far uncovered on the east and south were also present on the west. This is to be expected.

in terms of the architectural changes described in the previous sections of this chapter, and perceptually, in terms of the representation of the forum discussed here, Pompeii's is a forum in transition from a well-integrated node with significant through movement potential to an enclosed space like the imperial fora in the capital.

In the brief reading of the frescoes provided here, my interest has not been on how these images represent a particular activity, but how they represent a more general view of the forum as a space: how they represent the *logica* of the forum. While we can continue to debate which real locations they may signify and whether the variety of traders depicted accurately reflects a Pompeian market day, we can say one thing for certain: the frescoes of the forum rightly represent the physical changes that were reshaping the centre of the city. This is a place of movement to, not movement through.

The spatial changes to the forum at Pompeii from the late-first century B.C. to the late first century A.D. provide a striking contrast to the trends identified in the city of Rome. These developments cannot be read simply as coincidental changes to the way in which urban space was practically used and organically changed over time. The short period of less than two decades, following the A.D. 62 earthquake, presents a moment of transformation that accelerated the emerging restrictions on space that were seen in the Augustan period.

6 CONCLUSIONS

But sometimes let me leave the noisie Roads

And silent wander in the close Abodes

Where Wheels ne'er shake the Ground; there pensive stray

*In studious Thought, the long uncrowded Way*⁶⁸⁸

This thesis began by contrasting the perception of fora in two examples: between Phaedrus, writing in the early first century A.D., and Pliny the Younger, writing in the early second. Phaedrus depicted the forum as a shortcut, while Pliny implied that fora were, or at least had been, inaccessible. The following chapters then considered these and similar perceptions of the spaces of fora, and examined their basis in spatial practice and changing infrastructures of urban movement. The case studies identified changes to the patterns of traffic through fora, over the course of the late Republic to the second century A.D. These changes can be summarised as a transformation of the nature of space, predicated on movement and accessibility, in ways that correspond to the contrast evident between Phaedrus and Pliny: from shortcuts to obstacles, and from spaces of significant through movement potential to spaces with limited access. This thesis has charted these developments chronologically and enabled us to see the emergence of a cultural habit of restriction of access to fora. This develops not only in the city of Rome but can be observed in other cities of Roman Italy.

The physical changes to fora, and patterns of movement to and through them, were the result of changes to the urban disposition and different ways of conceiving of city space. This means that we are not simply describing architectural and spatial change, we are identifying cultural change. We can appraise motives, catalysts and tolerances over time, contextualise

⁶⁸⁸ John Gay, *Trivia: Or, The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716), 2.271-4.

social relationships in their proper spatial settings and understand the processes by which centrality was redefined in the Roman city.

The individual chapters of this thesis each had a conclusion that related the discussion to the argument up to that point. In this concluding chapter I wish to provide an overall summary and enunciate the significance of these observations, while at the same time raising further questions that would usefully develop similar work. To facilitate a concise summary of the many issues that have been raised by the evidence presented in this thesis, textual and archaeological, we can return to the questions posed in Chapter 1.

In turning to the articulation of spatial concepts in Roman texts, Chapter 2 outlined the criteria by which centrality could be considered a social process, predicated by urban movement and related to the concept of *locus celeberrimus* as a topographical construct. This allows us to consider centrality as perceived – rather than conceived – space. Centrality is recast as both a social product and a spatial process, and an understanding of urban movement becomes integral to an understanding of centrality. However, recognising that centrality is not objective but is subjective, and is a process rather than a state, necessarily leads to the recognition that it is historically contingent and our examination of it needs to account for chronologies: it must be diachronic, not synchronic.

This informed the choice of case studies that occupy the bulk of this thesis. Through an examination of the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora, this thesis has presented not only a long-term narrative of changes to the infrastructure of movement *in media urbis*, but has allowed us to examine two different types of architectural processes: on the one hand, the progressive redefinition of an existing space and, on the other, the construction of new spaces. It is this, rather than providing a long chronological timeline, that makes the comparative study of the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora important for understanding the wider development of the Roman city, and raises the interesting concept of the urban disposition. It allows us to consider the two fundamental organisers of spatial form – adaptation and design

– and consider the same theme between the two: the through movement potential of urban space.

The textual evidence clearly indicates a perception of the Forum Romanum related to through movement potential, and its availability as a shortcut. Moreover, by considering movement at those spaces around the forum, rather than in the forum itself, this study was able to show the importance of understanding the ‘natural movement’ of the city: the Forum Romanum was a busy node because it was surrounded by other busy nodes and routes. This study has contributed to our understanding of the city of Rome by demonstrating why some of those routes were busier than others: for example, the apparent preference for the *vicus Tuscus* over the *vicus Jugarius*, or the use of the *clivus ad Carinas* to skirt around the Velia and provide the most user-friendly approach to the *Sacra via* and the forum from the direction of the *locus celeberrimus* of the *Carinae*. Chapter 3 reconfigured the often separated and decontextualised network of space in the city of Rome, the better to understand the kinetic flow of the city.

However, one of the most significant issues to be taken from Chapter 3 was the recognition of emerging habits relating to the use of space: the increasingly defined separation of pedestrians and vehicles, and the progressive enclosure of or limitations on access to spaces within fora. The Forum Romanum itself could not be enclosed, owing to its through movement potential and, for example, its integration into the route of the triumphal procession, but nevertheless we can recognise the emergence of a concept of space that gradually reshaped the open piazza. The area around the *aedes divi Iuli* and the *Arcus Augusti* presents an egregious example in the last decades of the first century B.C.: not only do we see the distinct separation of vehicles and pedestrians in space, but we also see the removal of one of the routes that defined the forum until that time. We can begin to recognise the theme of power as related to changes to the spaces of movement: where the plebeian response to the death of Caesar was to erect a column beside this road, the imperial response removed the

road altogether and added a temple and pedestrian complex that redefined the area and movement around it. This is a significant point because it means the narrative of topographical development is not simply a description of the history of those spaces, but is an examination of social processes, related to the balance of tolerances and abilities in reshaping the space of the city.

This theme continued through Chapter 4, which examined the development of the imperial fora from two angles: first, the impact of the new fora on existing urban space and, second, the control of movement into and through the new fora themselves. This allowed us to examine conceived space because the fora were new constructions, built according to the contemporary understanding of urban public spaces. The impact of the new fora on existing urban space, in particular on existing infrastructures of movement, can be summarised as early adaptation of space being replaced by later imposition on space.

The first two imperial fora, the Forum Iulium and the Forum Augustum, had a significant impact on the city by replacing existing properties and adding new monumental areas in the vicinity of the Forum Romanum. As the evidence demonstrates, the Forum Iulium involved a greater degree of landscape modelling than had previously been assumed: in order to replace earlier structures and accommodate the new forum it was necessary to undertake substantial terracing on the northeast slope of the *Arx* and into the properties of the *Argiletum*. Yet despite this, and the related reconfiguration of the route of the *clivus Argentarius*, Caesar's project did not significantly alter infrastructures of movement, even if it changed their details. It changed the form without changing the integration. In other words, the through movement potential of sites *in media urbis* was not adversely affected by the construction of the Forum Iulium because the new space did not truncate any of the routes into or through the wider area.

The same can be said for the Forum Augustum. As was noted, a key element of the articulation of this forum in texts was the extent to which it was a necessary addition to the

city but one that was restrained in terms of expropriation. Augustus' forum respected the course of earlier streets and the property rights of the incumbent *possessores* of *domus* in the vicinity. The evidence for late Republican houses beneath the piazza attests to some of the change. However, like the case for the Forum Iulium, the new forum did not change the patterns of movement in the wider urban area. The *Argiletum* still functioned as a vibrant traffic artery, while the streets that led down from the Quirinal dictated the contours of the new forum and continued to inform the location of commercial structures in the area until the Flavian period.

The Julio-Claudian fora, then, were spaces that fitted in with existing space (as near as possible) but that were segregated from the urban framework into which they had been squeezed. While the evidence for the junction between the two fora remains unclear, neither had a monumental approach that opened to the passing traffic of city streets, and neither were accessible to vehicles. Given the continued use of the *clivus Argentarius* and the street of the *Argiletum*, neither the Forum Iulium nor the Forum Augustum were spaces of through movement. They lay beside the main arteries of movement but were not places through which movement passed.

As was noted, this is the impression presented to us by Strabo, who passed alongside the new imperial fora on his way to the Forum Romanum.⁶⁸⁹ Later, Martial gave a similar impression, passing from the Quirinal to the *Argiletum* and a space that was opposite – and conspicuously outside of – the Forum Iulium, while the recent third 'forum' of the Templum Pacis was similarly designated by its entrance, as one passed by but did not enter.⁶⁹⁰ Indeed, in the first century A.D. we hear of the 'joined fora' as a specific topographical signifier.

⁶⁸⁹ Strabo 5.3.8.

⁶⁹⁰ Mart. 1.2.7-8, *libertum docti Lucensis quaere Secundum limina post Pacis Palladiumque forum; 1.117.9-10, Argi nempe soles subire Letum: contra Caesaris est forum taberna.*

These new fora were joined (*iuncta fora*) but in perception they were joined to one another, and not to the city of which they were a part.⁶⁹¹

The developments in the Flavian and Trajanic periods continued this particular configuration of space, with the imperial fora increasingly reshaping earlier infrastructures of movement and replacing urban thoroughfares with spaces with greater restrictions on movement. The Forum Nervae replaced the street of the *Argiletum* and in doing so removed an important route towards and from the Forum Romanum. As discussed, this was not simply a monumental version of the preceding street. It was the removal of a functioning traffic artery suitable for both vehicles and pedestrians, and we should not be led to assume that it continued to serve as a thoroughfare on the basis of the names *transitorium* or *pervium*, given several centuries later. These have nothing to do with the Flavian space, and with the urban disposition that produced it. As discussed at length, the Porticus Absidata is an egregious example of restrictions on movement, and examining the ambiguity of movement to and through this space allows us to challenge Heinrich Bauer's canonical assessment. As well as this, by examining the practicalities of movement at this space we are able to properly integrate it into a reading of the imperial fora as a whole. As noted, the Porticus Absidata is generally overlooked when one considers the imperial fora, but its form and function demands attention.

The Trajanic changes have their origins in Domitian's planned forum to the west of the Forum Augustum, for which the clearing of properties and streets, the levelling of the ridge between the Quirinal and Capitoline and the reconstruction of some parts around via di Campo Carleo had evidently begun in the 90s A.D. The form of the forum and Markets of Trajan in the early-second century A.D. reveal numerous instances where examining movement is vindicated. We have seen how the north end of the complex extended into a

⁶⁹¹ Mart. 10.51, nec fora iuncta quater. Compare, from Chapter 3, Ovid's reference to the new route connecting the Forum Romanum and the *Nova via* (F. 6.396, quae Nova Romano nunc via iuncta foro est).

well-defined, regular street network and involved the truncation of the *vicus Pallacinae*, while the streets that were integrated within the new complex were inaccessible to vehicles and did not form through routes in the city as had been assumed. This is more than a trivial observation. The exclusion of vehicle traffic has implications for how these spaces could have functioned, and for how we should consider them within the city at large. The effect of restrictions on movement at the borders of the imperial fora was to establish large detours and fundamentally redefine the through movement potential of these spaces and the earlier spaces on those routes, namely, the Forum Romanum and the centre of the city more broadly. The imperial fora were not *loci celeberrimi* and, as noted in Chapters 2 and 3, patterns of ‘natural movement’ in the city would have been disrupted – particularly moving from the north and northeast. Because urban space is configured space, and because we saw that the centrality of the Forum Romanum was related to its connection to other busy spaces, the restrictions through the imperial fora cause us to rethink not only those spaces themselves but the entire pattern of movement and space *in media urbis*. This not only helps to understand the physical discontinuities in spaces that, on the plan, so often seem continuous, but serves to raise questions about how public really were these monumental ‘public areas’ of the city, and therefore, how ‘central’?

Clearly we observe a new articulation of public space through the designed exclusion of vehicle traffic and the segregation of the imperial fora from the surrounding network of streets (and activity) in the city. Evidence of the former can be found in the simplest details of the new fora: the conspicuous use of steps in order to enter or exit the space, or the construction of arches and other passages, such as the Porticus Absidata, that made the passage of vehicles a physical impossibility. Evidence of the latter is most conspicuously seen at the Forum Augustum, with its large wall behind the *aedes Martis Ultoris* (fig. 77). This acts to turn the imperial fora away from the city. The respect for the city demonstrated in the planning of this new forum (not dispossessing property owners and being assiduously shaped

by the course of existing streets) is a far less conspicuous gesture of the relationship between city and forum than is the rift created by this imposing curtain wall.



Figure 77 The north wall of the Forum Augustum rising above the streets that led from the Quirinal.
(Photo = author).

Chapter 5 then considered whether the trends identified in Rome could be observed in other cities, specifically at Pompeii. The comparisons contribute to an understanding of the influence of the capital city not in terms of architectural styles or typologies, but in terms of the relationship between spatial concept, practice and representation. It is precisely *because* Rome cannot be taken as a proxy for the cities of Roman Italy – precisely because Rome was so atypical – that comparison with other cities is a worthwhile venture. In short, there is no reason why urban space should have developed the way it did in Rome, nor is there any reason why it should have developed the way it did at Pompeii or elsewhere. That it did develop that way, and that we can observe similarities rather than differences, is worth consideration.

The forum at Pompeii is a clear example of a space with significant through movement potential being progressively transformed through the exclusion of vehicle traffic and the removal of routes that had previously led to and through the piazza. This happens within the context of architectural change that has so often been linked to the influence of Rome, suggesting that the forum at Pompeii was imitative and that both its form and functions were reshaped over (a relatively short) time because of developments in the capital. This thesis has contributed to discussions of Pompeii by demonstrating that it is a change in the nature of space as well as in the types of monuments built or the types of sanctuaries dedicated. The through movement potential of the forum in A.D. 79 was remarkably different to that of the first century B.C.

To put this in context, we can reflect briefly on some other examples where this is evident and which corroborate the wider interpretation of changes to central space as a result of a cultural shift in the urban disposition: reconsidering how accessible fora should be and to what types of movement. At Paestum, the forum developed from the third-century B.C. at the side of the major intersection of the city. The north-south *cardo* was evidently heavily used,

as attested by wheel ruts visible from the southern gate to the central crossroads.⁶⁹² The east-west *decumanus* originally intersected this street but was blocked by the forum and its surrounding porticoes, sometime in the late-first century B.C. or first century A.D., so that access to the forum was only permissible on foot (fig. 78A). The construction of the colonnade across the street so that it met the edge of the *decumanus* had the effect of segregating the *cardo*: the central of three columns was placed in the middle of the street, so that vehicle movement in both directions was blocked. Later, a series of buildings were added to the western edge of the forum, north of this column blockage. These had the effect of entirely truncating the route of the heavily-used *cardo* (fig. 78B).⁶⁹³

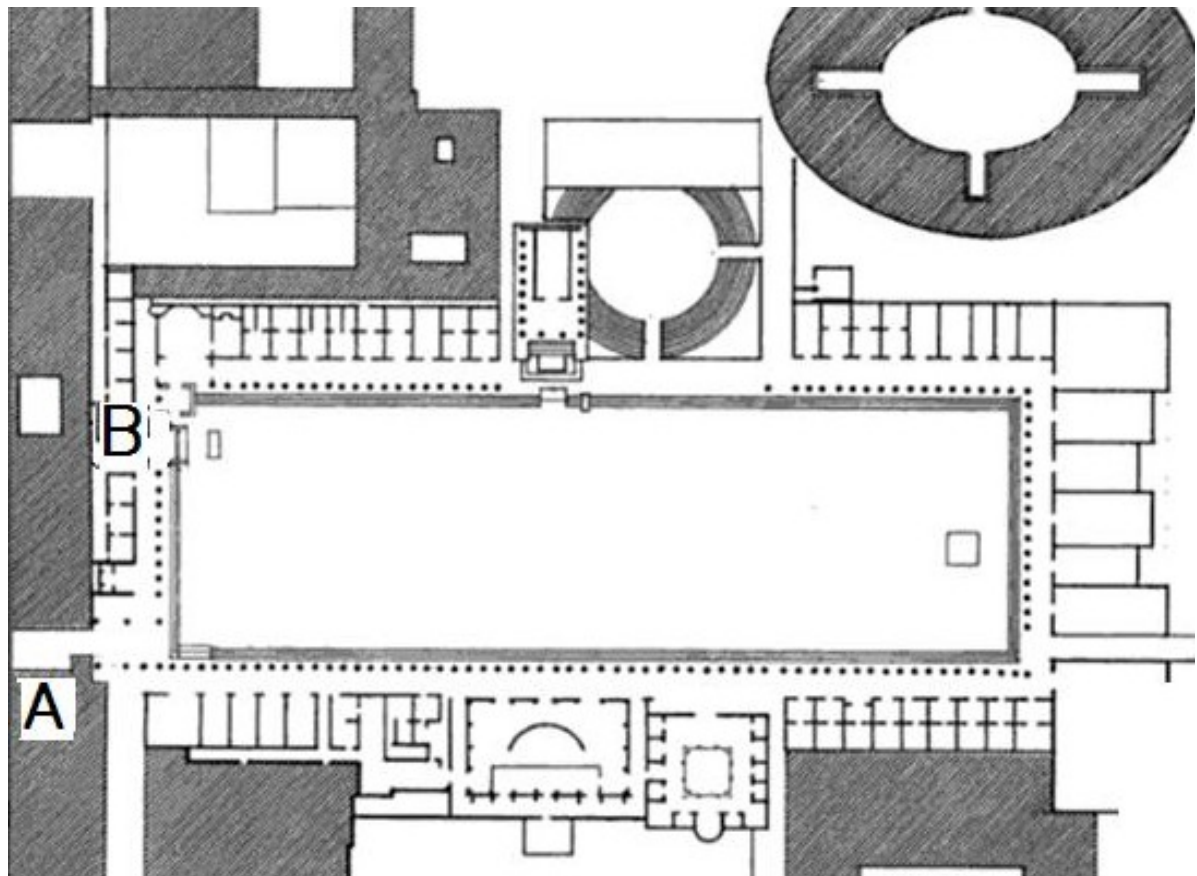


Figure 78 The forum at Paestum showing signs of segregation from the street network in the first century A.D. A: truncation of the *decumanus*, B: buildings constructed over the *cardo* (Adapted from Stamper 2005: fig. 75).

⁶⁹² Described in Pedley 1990: 14.

⁶⁹³ See Greco & Theodorescu 1980.

The similarities between the forum at Paestum and the Forum Romanum are clear: it had a round *comitium* area, a curia, a statue of Marsyas and, looking slightly outside the forum in Rome, a temple to the Capitoline triad. Hitherto, less has been said about the way in which the articulation of the forum, and its disposition relative to the city streets, was also similar to the spaces of fora in Rome: not to the Forum Romanum, but to the imperial fora, closed to vehicles. The changes at Paestum reveal the planning priorities of the day: to close the forum from vehicle traffic. That these changes happen in Paestum in or after the Augustan period is not surprising.



Figure 79 View looking south of the street running across the western side of the forum at Volsinii. The forum was accessed through a pedestrian only covered passage that could be locked at both ends. (Gros 1983: fig. 6).

In Volsinii, which had two fora, that of the mid- to late-first century A.D. was closed to vehicles through the use of a flight of nine deep steps; these descended to a covered passage

that led to the forum (fig. 79).⁶⁹⁴ This passage had gates at both ends and could evidently be locked and thus control access.⁶⁹⁵ At the same time, all commercial activity appears to have been relocated, to outside of the forum. Pierre Gros, who as we noted in Chapter 4 also studied the problems of movement to the imperial fora, summarises the effect of these changes concisely: “visent à l’isoler plus qu’à l’intégrer”.⁶⁹⁶

The evidence for gates and locks at Volsinii may allow us to tentatively infer similar procedures in Rome itself. Indeed, future work on this area could examine the rhythms in space that characterised the city of Rome. It might have been the case that the imperial fora were closed at night, and so our discussion of restrictions on movement and accessibility can, or should, be temporally conditioned.⁶⁹⁷ This may explain the dual use of steps (to exclude vehicles) and lock (to exclude pedestrians) at Volsinii. Augustus was angered by Julia’s revelling on the *rostra* in the Forum Romanum ‘at night’, and as we noted in Chapter 2, dissident graffiti were prone to appear in *loci celeberrimi* under the cover of darkness.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁴ See Gros 2008: 149-50 (figs. 2 and 3) for a recent discussion of these changes in context. The excavations are detailed in Hallier, Humbert & Pomey 1982 (esp. 37-46), with a summary in Gros 1981. See also Gros 1983 (esp. 71-2), who proposes a late Neronian or early Flavian date for the forum, later than the early-first century A.D. date suggested in Hallier, Humbert & Pomey 1982. The changes to Volsinii are discussed in context by Patterson 2006: 177-8.

⁶⁹⁵ A large public latrine (*forica*) opened to the north of this passage, near the steps from the main street. The accessibility of this latrine is not clear. It may only have been open when the forum was also.

⁶⁹⁶ Gros 2008: 150: “On a donc voulu interrompre le trafic pour mettre la place centrale à l’abri de tout charroi; ses structures d’encadrement [...] visent à l’isoler plus qu’à l’intégrer” See also Gros 1981: 55: “Mais un tel aménagement implique évidemment une interruption du trafic: comme au Forum d’Ostie, les charrois devaient contourner la place publique”.

⁶⁹⁷ La Rocca (2001: 211; 2006: 125) considers this not only possible but probable, given the many moveable objects that were contained in the area of the imperial fora. The Templum Pacis, accessed from the Porticus Absidata, housed many valuable possessions “because it was a safe place” (Herodian 1.14.2-3).

⁶⁹⁸ Cass. Dio 55.10.12; Livy 34.61.14; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.6. The author is currently developing a paper on this subject for publication, with Dr. Joanne Berry.

Throughout this thesis, the emphasis has been on spatial configurations and infrastructure, prioritising the physical and the built. However, traffic is irregularly distributed in both space *and* time, and it could prove fruitful to consider how the through movement potential of these spaces changed over the course of the day.

Returning to comparanda from Roman Italy, Ostia is slightly different for having a forum that – like the Forum Romanum – could not be entirely segregated from the street network because it carried a major urban thoroughfare directly through the middle of it, rather than peripherally through it at the edges.⁶⁹⁹ However, while the east-west *decumanus* was not blocked, the north-south *cardo*, which led from the Tiber, was. That the north-south route was formerly a significant one is clear. In the Republic, a north-south street paved in polygonal *selce* had formed the eastern edge of the forum and defined the location of the Republican temples (fig. 80).⁷⁰⁰ Traces of the same paving have been found to the south of the forum on the same alignment, suggesting that this was a continuous street through the city (fig. 81A).⁷⁰¹

The significance of this street may be further underlined by the important inscription from Ostia that records the paving of the street *iuncta foro ab arcu ad arcum*.⁷⁰² The street was paved by P. Lucilius Gamala as an act of civic *euergetism*. Meiggs suggested that this was a section of the *decumanus maximus*, although the use of *iuncta* suggests that it was

⁶⁹⁹ The development of Ostia's street network has most recently been discussed by Mar 2008. See also Mar 1991 for the regional context of Ostia's arterial roads.

⁷⁰⁰ The southern limit of the temples, formed by the *decumanus maximus*, was further marked by pozzetti, recalling the discussion of the Forum Romanum, or the forum at Cosa, from Chapter 3. See Meiggs 1973: 131.

⁷⁰¹ See Calza *et al.* 1954: fig. 19. This street would have met the *decumanus maximus* approximately where a possible *compitum* shrine was erected, which stands within the southern half of the forum. See Bloch 1962: 223: "it occupies literally the center of the city".

⁷⁰² *CIL* XIV 375 (i): IDEM SUA PECUNIA VIAM SÍLICE STRAVIT QUAE EST IUNCTA FORO AB ARCU AD ARCUM. Discussed in detail by Zevi 2004: 55-7. The inscription itself is discussed by Salomies 2003.

joined to the forum but did not necessarily pass through it.⁷⁰³ The identification of Gamala's street with the north-south *cardo* is more convincing.

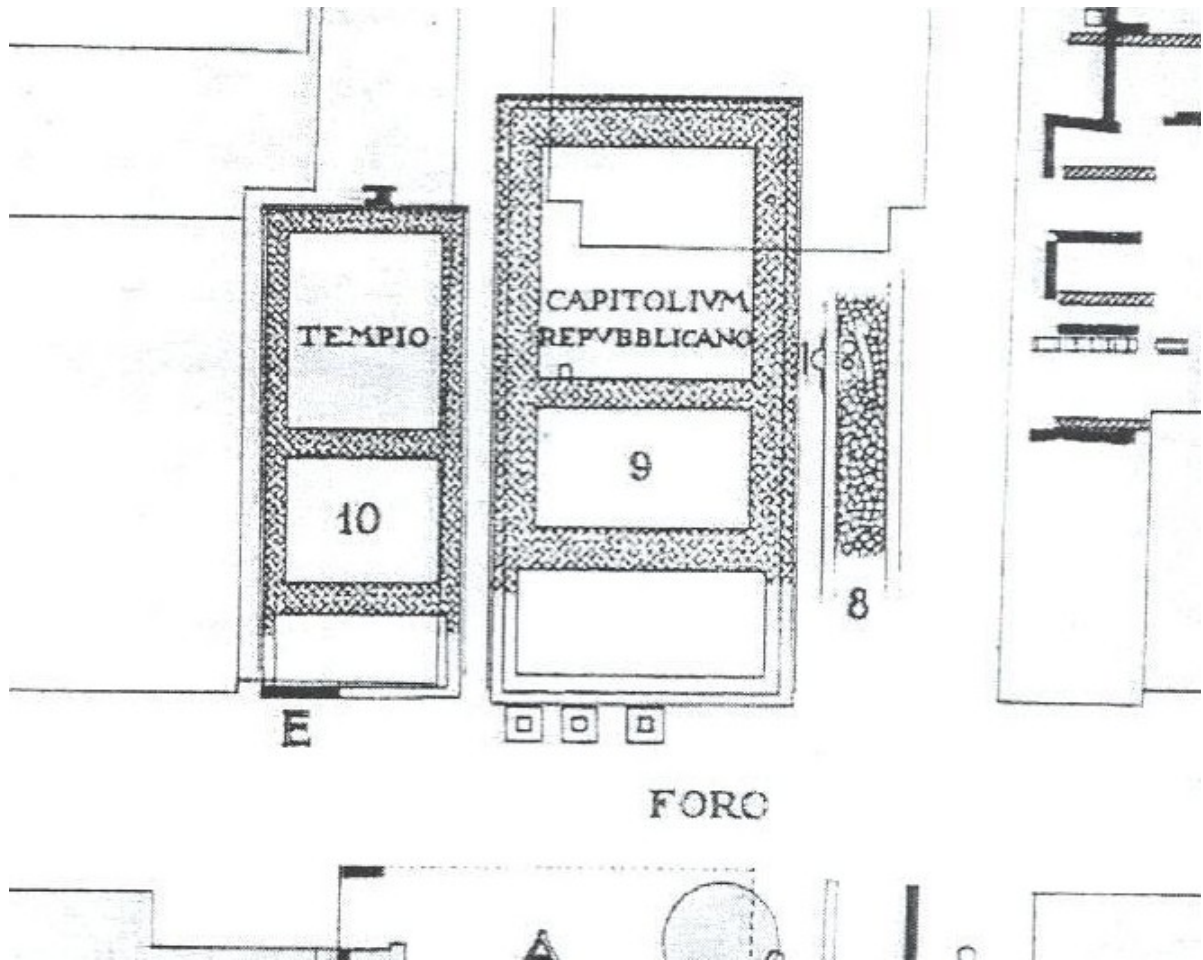


Figure 80 The Republican forum at Ostia, showing the north-south *selce* street that was later suppressed by the piazza. The wide street running east-west is the *decumanus maximus* (Detail from Calza *et al.* 1953: fig. 19).

The north of this street was suppressed by the Hadrianic Capitolium (fig. 81C), which segregated vehicle traffic from the forum through the construction of a narrow archway, too narrow for vehicles, at the end of the portico that led from the river. The street has a width of 8.9m until this arch, where it narrows to 3.4m (fig. 81D). However, earlier still the southern tract of the *selce* street had likely been truncated by the construction of the Temple of Rome

⁷⁰³ Meiggs 1973: 129.

and Augustus, sometime in the early-first century A.D.⁷⁰⁴ In the Hadrianic period, as well as blocking the north, new arches added either side of the temple to the south definitively closed movement in this direction for vehicle traffic (fig. 81B). The two parts of the forum piazza, bisected by the *decumanus maximus*, were thereafter exclusively pedestrian spaces.

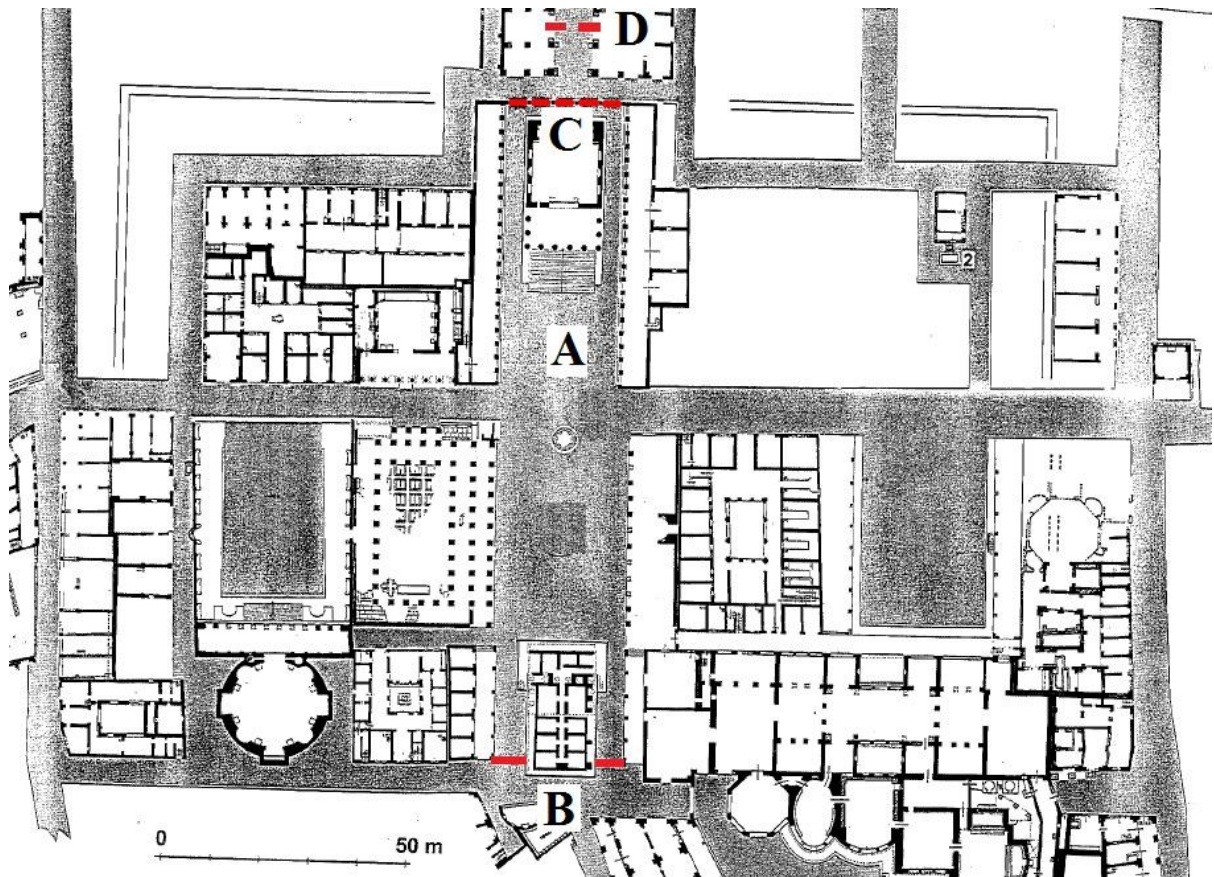


Figure 81 The forum at Ostia, showing the cancellation of the north-south *cardo*. A: location of earlier paved street. B: Julio-Claudian temple with Hadrianic arches blocking the passage of vehicles. C: curtain wall behind Capitolium. D: Hadrianic arch, too narrow for vehicles.

Ostia's forum therefore presents a curious mix of access and segregation. The north-south route was truncated and, like for vehicles approaching the imperial fora in Rome, caused a

⁷⁰⁴On the impact of the blockage of this street, see Zevi 2004: 57, who characterises it as “un progetto che veniva ad incidere sulla struttura della città”. Like at Pompeii and Volsinii, and like at the Forum Iulium in Rome, a public latrine was constructed near to (but outside of) the forum. A spatial study of *foricae* would provide interesting details about how they related to fora, and what this may imply about the pedestrianisation of space. The present author plans to develop an article on this topic for future publication. On *foricae* more broadly, see now Hobson 2009.

detour around the forum and neighbouring *insulae* before joining the *decumanus maximus*: a measure that, in theory, removed the need for that traffic to pass through the forum, regardless of its destination.⁷⁰⁵ However, the east-west route continued to pass through the forum at all times, and so the through movement potential of this space was always high. While the *decumanus maximus* – the “elemento circolatorio fondamentale” – continued to carry vehicle traffic through the forum, it was nevertheless differentiated from the piazza through a combination of steps and paving.⁷⁰⁶

The theme of paving in fora warrants further study than this thesis has been able to afford. On the distinction between the movement of pedestrians and vehicles, paving might be read as a proxy for the type of movement expected or allowed in a given space. The different properties of paving stone was evidently considered in Roman space and may allow us to postulate a hierarchy of materials related to movement. Pliny discussed the different benefits of basalts and limestone in some detail, considering durability against exposure, fire, water and weight.⁷⁰⁷ The choice of paving in and around fora is a corollary of durability against, suitability for, and expectation of different types of movement. The image of the Forum Romanum is of the paved *l'area centrale*, originally of Monteverde tufa but later in travertine, surrounded by streets paved with *selce*. The *selce*, Pliny noted, would not deteriorate over time, making it a durable and favoured stone for the paving of the vehicle routes.⁷⁰⁸ It would have been clear to the contemporary user of the forum that the paving of the streets passing

⁷⁰⁵ Mar 2008: 128 is right to note that this would have forced other streets to carry more traffic, and highlights the *Semita dei Cippi* as a conspicuous north-south alternative. However, as noted in Chapter 1, this was itself later truncated by an *exedra* monument.

⁷⁰⁶ Mar 2008: 127.

⁷⁰⁷ Of which, he considers black stone the best: Plin. *HN*. 36.49, *nigri silices optimi*.

⁷⁰⁸ Plin. *HN*. 36.168, *iidem et in monimentis scalpti contra vetustatem quoque incorrupti permanent*. Stretches of the *Via Appia* were paved in *selce* as early as 294 B.C., while the *clivus Capitolinus* followed suit in 174 B.C; Livy 10.47, *via a Martis silice ad Bovillas perstrata est*; Livy 41.27, *et clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt*.

into, through and around it was suitable for vehicles, while the paving of *l'area centrale* would have been conspicuously different. This demonstrates that while the space was an important area for movement through the urban landscape, movement through the specific space of the forum was patterned according to a separation between vehicles and pedestrians. This distinction would have been an intelligible one.⁷⁰⁹

As several examples have made clear throughout the case study chapters, different spaces were articulated with different forms of paving, and this paving corresponded with areas of either pedestrian or vehicular activity. For example, the travertine in the pedestrian area of the *aedes Castoris* and *Arcus Augusti* contrasted with the basalt paving of the street running through the forum. This area was further separated from the surrounding urban environment – an environment of vehicle traffic in the vicinity of the *vicus Tuscus* – by the inclusion of low steps that surrounded the pedestrian area identified in Chapter 3. Further indications of paving and movement in the Forum Romanum include the area paved with small *tesserae* before the *Rostra Augusti*; unsuitable for vehicle traffic and thus refuting the notion that movement from the *Argiletum* could pass to the *vicus Iugarius*, despite their near alignment when viewed on a plan of this space. Not surprisingly, we observe something different in the paving of the imperial fora. Owing to the exclusion of vehicle traffic, these spaces typically lack paving that might be suitable for vehicles. An interesting question for further research, therefore, is what happens to the articulation of paved space when there is no longer the need to separate vehicles and pedestrians? Of great interest too is the manner in which the pedestrian roads around the Forum Traiani and through the Markets of Trajan were

⁷⁰⁹ The surrounding of *l'area centrale* with broad *crepidines* would have prevented vehicles from passing across. The only exception to this was opposite the *Argiletum*, where a gap in the surrounding curb would have permitted wheeled traffic to move onto *l'area centrale*. However, such traffic would have to move out of *l'area centrale* by the same opening. Therefore, we should not consider this related to through traffic in any sense. On this paving see Giuliani & Verduchi 1987; Giuliani 1996: 344. Different colours of paving also contributed to the identification of smaller locations within larger forum space, such as the *porticus Purpuretica* in the Forum Traiani (see Chapter 2)

nevertheless paved in materials traditionally chosen for their durability under vehicle traffic. The via Biberatica, as we have seen in Chapter 4, had both a *selce* carriageway and travertine sidewalks. This presents the quixotic urban image of the road in the Roman city, yet an examination of that road has shown its inaccessibility to vehicle traffic, however well suited it was to receive it. This warrants further study, and raises interesting questions about the articulation – the ‘expression’ – of urban movement through the city of Rome, and how this would have shaped the perception or image of the city.⁷¹⁰

In contrast, the pedestrianised piazza at Pompeii was paved with travertine, like the lateral porticoes that surrounded it, although it was distinguished from its edges by both steps and (in some places at least) barriers like those depicted at the *praedium* of Iulia Felix.⁷¹¹ Pompeii’s resemblance to the imperial fora is articulated not just at its entrances and exits, but throughout its paving.⁷¹² In fora that were bisected by main roads, and could not be blocked altogether, the distinction between the forum and the street was expressed through different paving and the use of steps. For example, Ostia’s *selce decumanus* ran through the travertine piazza which was also raised three steps higher than the street, similar to the arrangement at Volsinii where the *selce* streets were separated from the travertine piazza by a distinct curb. Terracina’s forum was bisected by the *via Appia*, which was again differentiated from the forum proper through the use of travertine against *selce* (fig. 82).⁷¹³

⁷¹⁰ The different articulation of the via Biberatica has been reinforced under recent renovations for the Museo dei Fori Imperiali, with the paving of all areas of the Markets of Trajan in *cocciopesto*, except the via Biberatica itself. On the methodological implications of the paving of fora, one wonders if we might consider different kinds of paving as proxy evidence for different types of (restrictions on) movement in the absence of other blockages.

⁷¹¹ The piazza at Pompeii was separated from the porticoes by two broad steps outside the colonnade (Dobbins 1997: 75-6).

⁷¹² As noted, our understanding of the paving of the piazza at Pompeii is likely to be significantly advanced by the ongoing work led by Prof. Valentin Kockel.

⁷¹³ On the use of travertine for paving at Ostia, see van der Meer & Stevens 2000 and van der Meer 2002. On the paving of Terracina’s forum, see Coppola 1984.

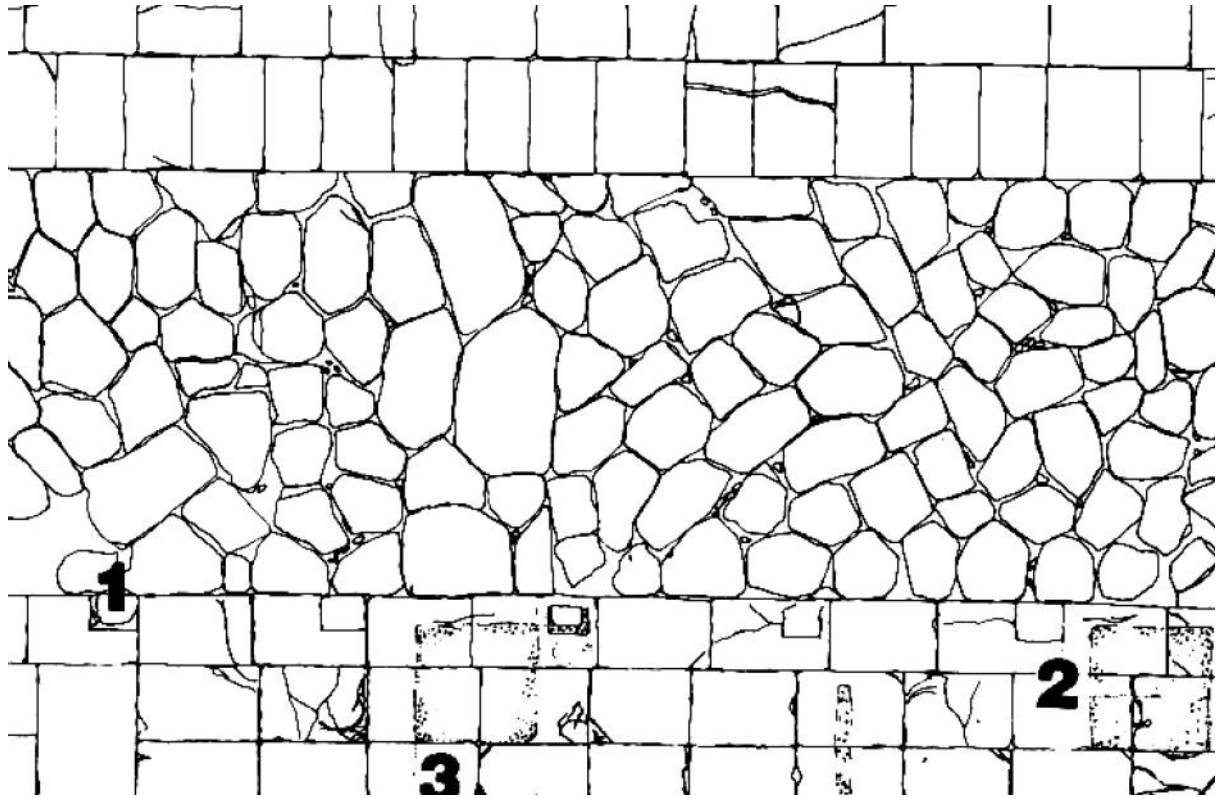


Figure 82 The *selce* via Appia passing through the travertine piazza at Terracina (detail from Coppola 1984: tav. 1). See also fig. 78 for the paving at Volsinii.

Returning to the case studies in the present work, the discussion of Pompeii's forum in Chapter 5 shows a forum transforming from an urban node with through movement potential into a space more approximating the restrictions and segregations of the imperial fora in the capital. This can be explained by the progressive application of the urban disposition that produced those spatial changes in Rome itself. To reject this hypothesis would be to consider all things coincidental and read the consistency of spatial change (in both physical and chronological terms) as incidental or inevitable. It is neither.

If we observe similar changes to space in Pompeii as we do in Rome, despite the markedly different urban contexts and practical demands on space in each (population, city area, urban density, and so forth), then we can relate this to urban disposition, rather than a common response to mutually, but independently, experienced spatial praxis. This takes us away from simply trying to identify and describe similar spatial arrangements in different

cities. As in Rome, the description of minutiae is a necessary part of the interpretation of a bigger picture: a picture of a cultural revolution in the conception, construction, use and representation of urban space and centrality. The segregation of the fora from the hustle and bustle of the city is therefore a redefinition of social interaction, of relationships in space and of cultural differentiation. These final points help to understand why the narrative of urban change presented throughout this thesis is not simply a matter of description: changes in physical form precipitate changes in possible use and changes in the type of space in question.

Creating a new kind of space is the creation of a new ideology of space: it would create new uses of space, a new kind of user of that space and a new cultural *habitus*. This is both kinetic and visual. It is also auditory. When Pliny described the three most beautiful buildings in Rome, he chose the *Basilica Aemilia*, the Forum Augustum and the Templum Pacis.⁷¹⁴ The relationship between these buildings is their separation by the thoroughfare of the *Argiletum*, still a vibrant space in Pliny's day, which may have served to increase the *dignitas* of the three surrounding *monumenta*. However, in auditory terms, Pliny laments how the Templum Pacis was so noisy that one could not properly appreciate the works of art that were displayed there.⁷¹⁵ This was probably because the intrusive clamour from the *Argiletum*, rather than because of crowds in the Templum Pacis itself. Movement brings noise. The construction of the Forum Nervae and Porticus Absidata would have had an effect on the aural as well as kinetic landscape of Rome, with the *media urbis* a quieter place than it had been before.

⁷¹⁴ Plin. *HN*. 36.102, non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum.

⁷¹⁵ Plin. *HN*. 36.27, Romae quidem multitudo operum et iam oblitteratio ac magis officiorum negotiorumque acervi omnes a contemplatione tamen abducunt, quoniam otiosorum et in magno loci silentio talis admiratio est. qua de causa ignoratur artifex eius quoque Veneris, quam Vespasianus imperator in operibus Pacis suae dicavit antiquorum dignam fama. See Noreña 2003 for the Templum Pacis more broadly.

Free from vehicles and animals (and so, animal excrement), with paving that distinguished these as specifically pedestrian spaces, the forum ceased to be a busy urban node but was instead a detached precinct. The progressive removal of fora from patterns of city movement created a new kind of space, one that La Rocca assumes must have given the user the impression that they were in the residence of the gods.⁷¹⁶ When Seneca wrote that *virtus* was found *in foro*, the image that came to mind was probably not the Forum Romanum but the imperial fora.⁷¹⁷

** *

This thesis has not been the first topographical history of the fora of Rome or Pompeii, nor is it the first to identify that there was an identifiable habit of enclosing fora and restricting vehicle traffic in the first and second century A.D. However, it is the first study to have considered in detail the importance of movement and traffic in Roman perception of space, and their articulation of spatial concepts and topographical constructs. In this sense, it presents a novel approach to the Roman city by considering the interrelated elements of the production of space: spatial practice, conceived space, and perceived space.

This thesis has therefore taken us a step beyond the classification of movement in the Roman city, towards an understanding of the importance for movement in how the city, or different parts of it in a relative hierarchy, was perceived, and how this perception was reshaped over time by changes to spatial practice. This has been tied to chronology in a way that has not yet been considered. This thesis has demonstrated that movement and the integration of ‘public’ spaces is historically variable, and indicates an emerging habit in the first century B.C. It is this urban disposition, I have argued, that informed the ‘architectures of

⁷¹⁶ La Rocca 2006: 143, “si sarebbe trovato fuori dalla convulsione del traffico cittadino che aveva raggiunto in età flavia livelli insopportabili, e avrebbe avuto forse la impressione di trovarsi nelle residenze degli dei”.

⁷¹⁷ Sen. *de vita beata* 7.3, *virtutem in templo convenies, in foro in curia, pro muris stantem, pulverulentam coloratam, callosas habentem manus*. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1995: 51 on the link between traffic control and “the symbolic cleanliness of the city”.

inaccessibility' encountered at the imperial fora. Other cities in Roman Italy followed suit, in the first and second centuries A.D. This is a logic of space, irrespective of local praxis.

The logical successor to a study of this kind would again consider traffic, integration and the theme of 'natural movement'. If the theory of centrality as a process constituted in movement and space is followed, then the decentralisation of fora, through their segregation from the street network, would have had two main influences on the city: first, the traditional 'centres' are less 'central'; second, the changes to the natural movement of the city will have produced new centres. This would be a process of the movement economy in action. If routes were diverted around the imperial fora, which did not function as through routes, it would be interesting to chart the development of once peripheral space that was now, relatively suddenly, on busy routes. This should serve to remind us that cities change, and that to explain the location of certain provisions or amenities through patterns of movement must consider how patterns of movement changed as well.

By considering movement in more detail as a variable in the conception, use and representation of urban space (and so, social relations in space) this study has caused us to rethink the nature of spaces that we often take for granted when we look at the Roman city. It has done so through an examination of a fundamental component of the city that has often been considered as a consequence of, rather than an integral part of, urban form – movement and traffic – applied to the spaces which are often overlooked or considered as products rather than processes – fora. This thesis has championed a reading of urbanism that is both physical and chronological, not simply to extend a narrative description over a long period of time but to demonstrate how the emerging habits of one period become the physical frameworks for the next: from behaviour to architecture; from *mores* to *marmor*. Finally, this thesis has served to remind us that by closely examining the small and often overlooked details about how people moved around their city, we can start to rethink the bigger assumptions about how

they thought about it, how it worked, and what it was in antiquity. “Most of it is ostensibly trivial, but the sum is not trivial at all”.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁸ Jacobs 1964: 67.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Some of the most common abbreviations of periodicals and series titles are given here for reference. For all others, this thesis follows the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (<http://www.ajaonline.org/index.php?ptype=page&pid=8>).

<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology
<i>BABesch</i>	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>BdArch</i>	Bollettino di archeologia
<i>BullCom</i>	Bollettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma
<i>CAH</i>	Cambridge Ancient History
<i>DialArch</i>	Dialoghi di archeologia
<i>FOLD&R</i>	Fasti On Line Documents & Research (www.fastionline.org)
<i>G&R</i>	Greece and Rome
<i>LTUR</i>	<i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> , 1993-2000, E.M. Steinby (ed.) 6 vols.
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRA Supp.</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series. Portsmouth: RI.
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>MAAR</i>	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
<i>NSc</i>	Notizie degli scavi di antichità
<i>PBSR</i>	Papers of the British School at Rome
<i>QuadArch</i>	Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura
<i>RendPontAcc</i>	Atti della Pontifica Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti.
<i>RStPomp</i>	Rivisti di studi pompeiani
<i>RM</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung

Aldrete, G.S. 2004. *Daily Life in the Roman City: Rome, Pompeii and Ostia*, New York.

———. 2007. *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*, Baltimore.

Allison, P. 2001. 'Using the material and written sources: turn of the millennium approaches to Roman domestic space', *AJA* 105, 181-208.

Amici, C.M. 1982. *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche*, Rome.

———. 1991. *Il Foro di Cesare*, Florence.

———. 2005. 'Dal progetto al monumento', in C. Giavarini (ed.), *La Basilica di Massenzio. Il monumento, i materiali, le strutture, la stabilità*, Rome, 21-74.

Ammerman, A.J. 1990. 'On the Origins of the Roman Forum', *AJA* 94, 627-45.

———. 1996. 'The Comitium in Rome from the Beginning', *AJA* 100, 121-36.

Anderson, J.C. 1982. 'Domitian, the Argiletum and the Temple of Peace', *AJA* 86, 101-10.

———. 1984. *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, Brussels.

Anderson, S. (ed.) 1978. *On Streets*, Cambridge.

Angelicooussis, E. 1984. 'The Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius', *RM* 91, 141-205.

Arthur, P. 1986. 'Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii: Excavations 1980-1981', *AJ* 66, 29-44.

- Barry, W.D. 2008. 'Exposure, Mutilation, and Riot: Violence at the *Scalae Gemoniae* in early Imperial Rome', *G&R* 55, 222-46.
- Ballet, P., Dieudonné-Glad, P. & Saliou, C. (eds.) 2008. *La rue dans l'Antiquité: définition, aménagement, devenir*, Rennes.
- Bauer, H. 1976-77. 'Il Foro Transitorio e il Tempio di Giano', *RendPontAcc* 49, 117-50.
- . 1977. 'Kaiserfora und Ianustempel', *RM* 84, 301-29.
- . 1983. 'Porticus Absidata', *RM* 90, 111-84.
- . 1985. 'Ricerche sul muro perimetrale e sul portico del foro di Augusto', in *Roma, archeologia nel centro I*, Rome, 229-40.
- . 1993. 'Cloaca, Cloaca Maxima', in *LTUR I (A-C)*, 288-90.
- Beard, W.M. 2007. *The Roman Triumph*, Harvard.
- Behr, C.A. 1986. *Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works* (2 volumes), London.
- Bellanca, C. 2003. *Antonio Muñoz (1884-1960). Una vita per i monumenti e per la città di Roma*, Rome.
- Bianchini, M. 1991. 'I "Mercati di Traiano"', *BdArch* 8, 102-21.
- . 1992. 'Mercati Traianeî. La destinazione d'uso', *BdArch* 16-18, 145-63.
- . 2005. 'Indagini nel tratto sud-est della via Biberatica. Modalità e cronologia della costruzione del settore meridionale dei Mercati di Traiano', *BullCom* 104, 235-68.
- Bjur, H. & Malmberg, S. forthcoming 2011. 'Movement and urban development at two city gates in Rome: the Porta Esquilina and Porta Tiburtina', in R. Laurence & D.J. Newsome (eds.) *Rome, Ostia and Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford.
- Bloch, H. 1962. 'A Monument of the Lares Augusti in the Forum of Ostia', *HThR* 55, 211-23.
- Boatwright, M.T. 1987. *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton.
- Boni, G. 1907. 'Esplorazione del Forum Ulpium', *NSc* 4, 361-410.
- . 1907-08. 'The Column of Trajan', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 3, 93-8.
- Boyle, A.J. 2003. *Ovid and the Monuments: A Poet's Rome*, Bendigo.
- Brown, F.E. 1960. *Cosa II: the Temples of the Arx*. *MAAR* 26, Rome.
- . 1980. *Cosa: The Making of a Roman Town*, Ann Arbor.
- . 1984. 'Review of F. Coarelli (1983)', *Gnomon* 56, 381-3.
- Brown, F.E., Richardson, E.H. & Richardson, L. jr. 1951. *Cosa I: History and Topography*, *MAAR* 20, Rome.
- Bruno, M. & Bianchi, F. 2006. 'La Colonna di Traiana alla luce di recenti indagini', *PBSR* 74, 293-322.

- Buranelli La Pera, F. & D'Elia, L. 1986. 'Sacra Via: note topografiche', *BullCom* 91, 241–62.
- Burns, A. 1976. 'Hippodamus and the Planned City', *Historia* 25, 414–28.
- Burton Brown, E. 1904. *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1904*, London.
- Cadoux, T.J. 2008. 'The Roman *Carcer* and its Adjuncts', *G&R* 55, 202–21.
- Cahill, N. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*, Yale.
- Calza, G. Becatti, G., Bloch, H., De Angelis D'Ossat, G. & Gismondi, I. 1954. *Scavi di Ostia I: Topografia Generale*, Rome.
- Carafa, P. 1997. 'What was Pompeii before 200 B.C.? Excavations in the House of Joseph II, in the Triangular Forum and in the House of the Wedding of Hercules', in S.F. Bon & R. Jones (eds.), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow Monographs 77, Oxford, 13–31.
- . 2002. 'The investigations of the University of Rome "La Sapienza" in Regions VII and VIII: the ancient history of Pompeii', in *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, & the Herculaneum "Basilica"*, *JRA Supp.* 47, 47–61.
- Carandini, A. 2004. *Palatino, Velia e Sacra Via. Paesaggi urbani attraverso il tempo. Workshop di archeologia classica. Quaderni 1*, Rome.
- Carcopino, J. 1968. *Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire*, Yale (Translated by E.O. Lorimer, *La vie quotidienne à Rome à l'apogée de l'Empire* [1940]).
- Carnabuci, E. 1991. L'angolo sud-orientale del Foro Romano nel manoscritto inedito di Giacomo Boni. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 1.4, Rome.
- Carettoni, G. 1960. 'Excavations and Discoveries in the Forum Romanum and on the Palatine during the Past Fifty Years', *JRS* 50, 197–203.
- Carettoni, G., Colini, A., Cozza, L., & Gatti, G. 1960. *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma urbis Romae*, Rome.
- Carettoni, G. & Fabbini, L. 1961. 'Esplorazioni sotto la Basilica Giulia al Foro Romano', *RendLinc* 16, 53–60.
- Carroll, M. & Godden, D. 2000. 'The Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii: Reconsidering Chronologies and Excavation', *AJA* 104, 743–54.
- Castagnoli, F. 1967. *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity*, London.
- . 1982. 'Aedes deum Penatium in Velia', *RivFil* 110, 495–9.
- . 1988. 'Ibam Forte Via Sacra (Hor. *Sat.* I, 9, 1)', *Topografia romana: Ricerche e discussioni: Quaderni di topografia antica* 10, 99–114.
- Champlin, E. 2005. 'Phaedrus the Fabulous', *JRS* 95, 97–127.
- Chioffi, L. 1996. *Gli Elogia Augustei del Foro Romano. Aspetti epigrafici e topografici. Opuscula Epigraphica* 7, Rome.

- Ciancio Rossetto, P. 2006. 'Il nuovo frammento della Forma Severiana relativo al Circo Massimo', in R. Meneghini & R. Santangeli Valenzani (eds.) *Formae Urbis Romae: Nuovi frammenti di Pianta Marmorea dallo scavo dei Fori Imperiali*, Rome, 127–42.
- Claridge, A. 1998. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, Oxford.
- . 2007. 'Hadrian's lost Temple of Trajan', *JRA* 20, 54–94.
- Clarke, K. 1999. *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, Oxford.
- Coarelli, F. 1968. 'La porta trionfale e la via dei Trionfi', *DialArch* 2, 55–103.
- . 1976–77. 'Ara Saturni, mundus, senaculum: la parte occidentale del foro in età arcaica', *DialArch* 9–10, 346–77.
- . 1977. 'Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla', *PBSR* 45, 1–23.
- . 1981. 'Il Foro in età arcaica: Regia, via Sacra, Comizio', *ArchLaz* IV, 241–8.
- . 1983. *Il Foro Romano I: Periodo archaico*, Rome.
- . 1985. *Il Foro Romano II: Periodo Repubblicano e Augusteo*, Rome.
- . 1988. *Il Foro Boario: dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*, Rome.
- . 1989. 'L'area tra Velia e Carinae: Un tentativo di ricostruzione topografica', in R. Panella (ed.), *Roma: Città e foro. Questioni di progettazione del centro archeologico monumentale della capitale*, Rome, 340–7.
- . 1996. 'Il forum vinarium di Ostia: un'ipotesi di localizzazione', in A. Gallina Zevi & A. Claridge (eds.) *'Roman Ostia' Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*, London, 105–13.
- . 1999. 'L'edilizia pubblica in Roma in età tetrarchia', in W.V. Harris (ed.) *The Transformation of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, *JRA Supp.* 33, 23–34.
- . (ed.) 2004. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Supplementum II.1. Gli scavi di Roma 1878–1921*, Rome.
- . 2005. 'Pits and Fora: A reply to Henrik Mouritsen', *PBSR* 73, 23–30.
- . (ed.) 2006. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Supplementum II.2. Gli scavi di Roma 1922–1975*, Rome.
- . 2008. *Rome and Environs. An Archaeological Guide* (Translated by J.J. Clauss & D.P. Harmon), Harvard.
- Coarelli, F. & Pesando, F. 2006. 'L'insula VI, 10 di Pompei fra l'età arcaica e il 79 d.C.', *Oebalus: studi sulla campania nell'Antichità* 1, 37–50.
- Colini, A.M. 1933. 'Notiziario: Forum Traiani', *BullCom* 61, 265–6.
- . 1934. 'Notizario scavi: Templum Pacis', *BullCom* 62, 165–6.
- . 1937. 'Forum Pacis', *BullCom* 65, 7–40.

- . 1961-2, 'Compitum Acilii', *BullCom* 78, 147-57.
- Cooley, A.E. 2003. *Pompeii*, London.
- Coppola, M.R. 1984. 'Il foro emiliano di Terracina: rilievo, analisi tecnica, vicende storiche del monumento' *MEFR* 96, 325-77.
- Corbeill, A. 2002. 'Political Movement: Walking and Ideology in Republican Rome', in D. Frederick (ed.), *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power and the Body*, Baltimore, 182-215.
- . 2003. *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome*, Princeton.
- Corbier, M. 1997. 'Pallas et la statue de César. Affichage et espace public à Rome', *Revue Numismatique* 152, 11-40.
- Cornell, T.J. 1995. *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (C. 1000-264 BC)*, London.
- Crawford, M.H. 1996. *Roman Statutes*, 2 volumes. London.
- Cullen, G. 1971. *The Concise Townscape*, London.
- D'Ambra, E. 1993. *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome*, Princeton.
- D'Arms, J.H. 1988. 'Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan Age and Beyond: The Eminence of the *Gens Holconia*', in R.I. Curtis (ed.) *Studia Pompeiana e Classica in honour of Wilhemina F. Jashemski I: Pompeiana*, New York, 51-74.
- De Caro, S. 1986. *Saggi nell'area del Tempio di Apollo a Pompeii. Scavi stratigrafici di A.Maiuri nel 1931-32 e 1942-43*. Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico 3, Naples.
- . 2007. 'The first sanctuaries', in J.J. Dobbins & P.W. Foss (eds.) *The World of Pompeii*, London, 73-81.
- De Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkley (Translated by S. Rendall = *L'invention du quotidien. Vol. 1, Arts de faire* [1980])
- DeLaine, J. 1995. 'The Insula of the Paintings at Ostia 1.4.2-4: Paradigm for a city in flux', in T.J. Cornell & K. Lomas (eds.) *Urban Society in Roman Italy*. London, 79-106.
- De Rossi, G.B. 1859. *Dell'arco Fabiano nel Foro*, Estratto dagli Annali dell'Istituto archeologico 31, Rome.
- De Ruyt, C. 1983. *Macellum: Marché alimentaire des romains*. Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'université catholique de Louvain XXXV, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Descœurdes, J.P. 2007. 'History and historical sources' in J.J. Dobbins & P.W. Foss (eds.) *The World of Pompeii*, London, 9-27.
- Dilke, O.A.W. 1971. *The Roman Land Surveyor*, London.
- Dobbins, J.J. 1994. 'Problems of chronology, decoration and urban design in the forum at Pompeii', *AJA* 98, 629-94.

- . 1996. 'The Imperial Cult Building in the forum at Pompeii', in A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, *JRA* Supp. 17, 99–114.
- . 1997. 'The Pompeii Forum Project 1994-95', in S.F. Bon & R. Jones (eds.), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow Monographs 77, Oxford, 73–85.
- . 2007. 'The Forum and its dependencies', in J.J. Dobbins & P.W. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii*, London, 150–83.
- Dobbins, J.J. & Ball, L.F. 2005. 'The Pompeii Forum Project', in P.G. Guzzo & M.P. Guidobaldi (eds.) *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano (Studia della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 10)*, Naples, 60–72.
- Dobbins, J.J., Ball, L.F., Cooper, J.G., Gavel, S.L. & Hay, S. 1998. 'Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997', *AJA* 102, 739–56.
- Dobbins, J.J. & Foss, P.W. (eds.), 2007. *The World of Pompeii*, London.
- Dondin-Payre, M. 1987. 'Topographie et propaganda gentile: le compitum Acilium et l'origine des Acilii Glabrones', in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rome, 87-109.
- Dudley, D.R. 1967. *Urbs Roma. A Source Book of Classical Texts on the City and its Monuments*, London.
- Dueck, D. 2000. *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London.
- Dumser, E.A. (ed.) 2002. *Mapping Augustan Rome*. *JRA* Supp. 50.
- Dupont, F. 1994. *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, Oxford (Translated by C. Woodall = *La vie quotidienne du citoyen romain sous la République* [1989]).
- Edmondson, J. 2008. 'Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome', in J. Edmondson & A. Keith (eds.), *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, Toronto, 21-46.
- Edwards, C. 1996. *Written Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*, Cambridge.
- Elden, S. 2004. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*, London.
- Ellis, S.J.R. 2004. 'The distribution of bars at Pompeii: archaeological, spatial and viewshed analyses', *JRA* 17, 371-84.
- Elsner, J. 1994. 'Constructing Decadence: The Representation of Nero as Imperial Builder', in J. Elsner & J. Masters (eds.) *Reflections on Nero: Culture, History and Representation*, London, 112–29.
- Eschebach, H. 1970. *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji*, Heidelberg.
- Esmonde-Cleary, A.S. 2005. 'Beating the Bounds: Ritual and the Articulation of Urban Space in Roman Britain', in A. MacMahon & J. Price (eds.) *Roman Working Lives and Urban Living*, Oxford, 1–17.
- Etienne, R. 1973. *La vita Quotidiana a Pompei* (2nd edition), Milan.

- Fallou, A. & Guilhembet, J.P. 2008. 'Sedvm regionvm locorum nomina (Cicéron). La Roma Antique à travers ses toponymes: les *vici*', in P. Fleury & O. Desborbes (eds.) *Roma Illustrata : représentations de la ville*, Caen, 175-88.
- Favro, D. 1996. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge.
- . 2006. 'The iconiCITY of the City of Rome', *Urban History* 33, 20–38.
- Fishwick, D. 1995. 'The inscription of Mamia again: the cult of the Genius Augusti and the temple of the Imperial Cult on the forum of Pompeii', *Epigraphica* 57, 17-38.
- Fogagnolo, S. 2006. 'Lo scavo del Templum Pacis: concordanze e novità rispetto alla Forma Urbis', in R. Meneghini & R. Santangeli Valenzani (eds.), *Formae Urbis Romae: nuovi frammenti di piante marmoree dallo scavo dei Fori Imperiali*, Rome, 61-74.
- Fontana-Giusti, G.K. 2007. 'Urban Strolling as the Measure of Quality', *Architectural Research Quarterly* 11, 255–64.
- Foucault, M. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York.
- Frank, T. 1936. 'The Topography of Terence, Adelphoe 573-85', *AJP* 57, 470–2.
- Franklin, J.L. 1990. *Pompeii: The 'Casa del Marinaio' and its history*, Rome.
- . 2001. *Pompeis Difficile Est: Studies in the Political Life of Imperial Pompeii*, Ann Arbor.
- Fraser, C.B. 2007. 'Otho's Funny Walk: Tacitus, *Histories* 1.27', *CQ* 57, 621-31.
- Frederick, D. 2003. 'Architecture and Surveillance in Flavian Rome', in A.J. Boyle & W.J. Dominik (eds.) *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, Leiden, 199-227.
- Fridell-Anter, K. & Weilguni, M. 2003. 'Public space in Pompeii', in G. Malm (ed.), *Toward an Archaeology of Buildings: Contexts and Concepts* (BAR International Series 1186), Oxford, 31-9.
- Fulford, M. & Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1999. 'Towards a history of pre-Roman Pompeii: excavations beneath the House of Amarantus', *PBSR* 67, 37–144.
- Galinier, M. 2007. *La Colonne Trajane et les Forums Impériaux*, Rome.
- Geyssen, J. 1999. 'Sending a Book to the Palatine: Martial 1.70 and Ovid', *Mnemosyne* 52, 718–38.
- Gill, D.W.J. 2006. 'Hippodamus and the Piraeus', *Historia* 55, 1-15.
- Gilula, D. 1991. 'A Walk Through Town (Ter. *Ad.* 573–584)', *Athenaeum* 79, 245–7.
- Gismondi, I. 1985. 'Foro di Augusto', *BullCom* 90, 341-61.
- Giuliani, C.F. 1985. 'Lettura del centro monumentale: problemi di metodo', in *Roma, archeologia nel centro I*, Rome, 9-16.
- . 1983–1987. '"Mercati" e Foro di Traiano: un fatto di attribuzione', *QuadArch* 1–10, 25-8.
- . 1995. 'Forum Romanum (Lastricati)', in *LTUR II (D-G)*, 343-5.
- . 2007 'La pianta dei Fori Imperiali', in F. Filippi (ed) *Ricostruire l'antico prima virtuale Italo Gismondi: Un architetto per l'archeologia (1887–1974)*, Rome, 75–8.

- Giuliani, C.F. & Verduchi, P. 1987. *L'area centrale del Foro romano*, Florence.
- Gjerstad, E. 1953. *Early Rome vol. I: Stratigraphical researches in the Forum Romanum and along the Sacra Via*, Rome.
- Gorman, V.B. 1995. 'Aristotle's Hippodamus (*Politics* 2.1267b22-30)', *Historia* 44, 385- 95.
- Gottarelli, A. 2003. 'Auguraculum, sedes inaugurationis e limitatio rituale della città fondata. Elementi di analogia tra la forma urbana della città etrusca di Marzabotto ed il templum augurale di Bantia (I)', *Ocnus* 11, 135-50.
- Gould, P. & White, R. 1974. *Mental Maps*, Harmondsworth.
- Gouwens, K. 1998. 'Perceiving the Past: Renaissance Humanism after the "Cognitive Turn"', *The American Historical Review* 103, 55-82.
- Grahame, M. 2000. *Reading Space: Social Interaction and Identity in the Houses of Roman Pompeii. A syntactical approach to the analysis and interpretation of built space* (BAR International Series 886), Oxford.
- Greco, E. & Theodorescu, D. 1980. *Poseidonia-Paestum, II: Forum Ouest-Sud-Est*, Rome.
- Griesbach, J. 2005. 'Villa e mausoleo: trasformazioni nel concetto della memoria nel suburbia romano', in B. Santillo Frizell & A. Klynne (eds.) *Roman Villas Around the Urbs: Interaction With Landscape and Environment, The Swedish Institute in Rome, Projects and Seminars 2*, Rome: 113-23.
- Griffin, M.T. 1984. *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*, London.
- Gros, P. 1981. *Bolsena: Guide des Fouilles*, Rome.
- . 1983. 'Il foro di Bolsena. Nota sull'urbanistica di Volsinii nel I secolo dopo Cristo', *Bollettino d'Arte* 17, 67-74.
- . 1986. 'Review of F. Coarelli (1985)', *Gnomon* 58, 58-64.
- . 2001. 'Nunc tua cinguntur limina: L'apparence de l'accueil et la réalité du filtrage à l'entrée des forums impériaux de Rome', in J. Ch. Balty (ed.) *Rome et ses provinces. Genèse et diffusion d'une image du pouvoir*, Brussels: 129-40.
- . 2005. 'Le rôle du peuple de Rome dans la définition, l'organisation et le déplacement des lieux de la convergence sous l'Empire', in G. Urso (ed.) *Popolo e potere nel mondo antico*, Pisa, 191-214.
- . 2008. 'Entrer dans la ville ou la contourner? Remarques sur les problèmes posés par les tronçons urbains des voies de communication sous le Haut-Empire', in D. Mertens (ed.), *Stadtverkehr in der Antiken Welt/ Traffico Urbano nel Mondo Antico, Palilia* 13, 145-64.
- Gross, H. 1990. *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: the Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Regime*, Cambridge.
- Guzzo, P.G. & Pesando, F. 2002. 'Sul colonnato nel foro triangolare di Pompei: indizi in un delitto perfetto', *Eutopia* 2, 111-21.
- Hall, E.T. 1966. *The Hidden Dimension*, New York.

- Hallier, G., Humbert, M. & Pomey, P. 1982. *Fouilles de l'École française de Rome à Bolsena (Poggio Moscini) VI. Les Abords du Forum: le côté nord-ouest (fouilles 1971–1973)*, Rome.
- Hartnett, J. 2008. 'Si quis hic sederit: Streetside Benches and Urban Society in Pompeii', *AJA* 112, 91–120.
- . forthcoming. 'Fountains at Herculaneum: Sacred History, Topography, and Civic Identity', *RStPomp*.
- Harvey, D. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*, Oxford.
- Haselberger, L. 2007. *Urbem Adornare: Die Stadt Rom Und Ihre Gestaltumwandlung Unter Augustus/Rome's Urban Metamorphosis Under Augustus*. *JRA* Supp. 64.
- Häuber, C. & Schütz, F. X. 2006. Das Archäologische Informationssystem ROMA: Antike Straßen und Gebäude aus Nollis Romkarte im modernen Stadtgrundriß', in L. Haselberger & J. Humphrey (eds.) *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation – Visualization – Imagination*. *JRA* Supp. 61, 253–70.
- Haverfield, F.J. 1913. *Ancient Town-Planning*, Oxford.
- Heinzelmann, M. 1998. 'Beobachtungen zur suburbanen Topographie Ostias. Ein orthogonales Strassensystem im Bereich der Pianabella', *RM* 105, 175–225.
- . 2002. 'Bauboom und urbanistische Defizite – zur städtischen Entwicklung Ostias im 2. Jh.', in C. Bruun & A. Gallina Zevi (eds.) *Ostia e Portus nelle loro relazioni con Roma (ActaInstRomFin 27)*, Rome, 101–21.
- Heinzelmann, M. & Martin, A. 2002. 'River port, *navalia* and harbour temple at Ostia: new results of a DAI-AAR Project', *JRA* 15, 5–19.
- Hillier, B. 1996. *Space is the Machine: a configurational theory of architecture*, London.
- . 1999. 'Centrality as a process: accounting for attraction inequalities in deformed grids', *Urban Design International* 4, 107–27.
- Hillier, B. & Hanson, J. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge.
- Hillier, B., Penn, A., Hanson, J., Grajewski, T. & Xu, J. 1993. 'Natural Movement: Or, Configuration and Attraction in Urban Pedestrian Movement', *Environment and Planning B* 20, 29–66.
- Hitchcock, L. 2008. *Theory For Classics: A Student's Guide*, London.
- Hobson, B. 2009. *Latrinae et Foricae: Toilets in the Roman World*, London.
- Holland, L.B. 1946. 'The Triple Arch of Augustus', *AJA* 50, 52–9.
- . 1953. 'The Foundations of the Arch of Augustus', *AJA* 57, 1–4.
- Holland, L.A. 1961. *Janus and the Bridge (MAAR 21)*, Rome.
- HülSEN, C. 1982. *Il Foro Romano: storia e monumenti*, Rome.
- Hurst, H. 2003. 'Excavation of the pre-Neronian *Nova Via*', *PBSR* 71, 17–84.

- . 2006. 'The *Scalae* (ex-Graecae) above the *Nova Via*', *PBSR* 74, 237-92.
- Huskey, S.J. 2006. 'Ovid's (Mis)Guided Tour of Rome: Some Purposeful Omissions in *Tr.* 3.1', *CJ* 102, 17-39.
- Jacobs, J. 1964. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York.
- Jenkins, A.S. 1901. 'The "Trajan-Reliefs" in the Roman Forum', *AJA* 5, 58-82.
- Jordan, H. 1877. 'Sylloge Inscriptionum Fori Romani', *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 3, 238-310.
- Kaiser, A.E. 2000. *The Urban Dialogue: An analysis of the use of space in the Roman city of Empúries, Spain* (BAR International Series 901), Oxford.
- . forthcoming 2011. 'Breaking Myths about Roman Urban Carts', in R. Laurence & D.J. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia and Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford.
- Kellum B. 1997. 'Concealing/Revealing: gender and the play of meaning in the monuments of Augustan Rome', in T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro (eds.) *The Roman Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, 158-81.
- Knox, P. 2009. 'Texts and Topography', *CQ* 59, 658-64.
- Kockel, V. 2005. 'Altes und Neues vom Forum und vom Gebäude der Eumachia in Pompeji', in P. Zanker & R. Neudecker (eds.) *Lebenswelten. Bilder und Räume in der römischen Stadt der Kaiserzeit*, *Palilia* 16, 51-72.
- Kockel, V. & Flecke, M. 2009. 'Forschungen im Südteil des Forums von Pompeji. Ein Vorbericht über die Arbeitskampagnen 2007 und 2008', *RM* 114, 271-303.
- Kostof, S.K. 1991. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, Boston.
- . 1992. *The City Assembled: Elements of Urban Form Through History*, Boston.
- La Rocca, E. 1998. 'Il Foro Traiano e i fori tripartiti', *RM* 105, 149-73.
- . 2001. 'La nuova immagine dei Fori Imperiali: appunti in margine agli scavi', *RM* 108: 171-213.
- . 2004. 'Templum Traiani et columna cochlis', *RM* 111, 193-238.
- . 2006. 'Passeggiando intorno ai Fori Imperiali', in L. Haselberger & J. Humphrey (eds.) *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation – Visualization – Imagination*. *JRA Supp.* 61, 120-43.
- Lancaster, L. 1999. 'Building Trajan's Column', *AJA* 103, 419-39.
- Lanciani, R. 1901. *Forma Urbis Romae*, Milan.
- Larmour, D.H.J. & Spencer, D.J. (eds.) 2007. *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory*, Oxford.
- Laurence, R. 1991. 'The Urban Vicus: the spatial organisation of power in the Roman city', in E. Herring, R. Whitehouse & J. Wilkins (eds.) *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology, vol. 1*, London, 145-50.
- . 1994 = 2007 (2nd edition). *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, London.

- . 1994. 'Modern ideology and the creation of ancient town planning', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 1, 9–18.
- . 1995. 'The organization of space in Pompeii', in T.J. Cornell & K. Lomas (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, London, 63-78.
- . 1997. 'Space and Text', in R. Laurence & A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, *JRA Supp.* 22, 7–14.
- . 2004. 'The Uneasy Dialogue Between Ancient History and Archaeology', in E.W. Sauer (ed.), *Archaeology and Ancient History*, London, 99-113.
- . 2008. 'City Traffic and the Archaeology of Roman Streets From Rome to Pompeii', in D. Mertens (ed.), *Stadtverkehr in der Antiken Welt/ Traffico Urbano nel Mondo Antico*, *Palilia* 13, 87–106.
- Laurence, R. & Newsome, D.J. (eds.), forthcoming 2011. *Rome, Ostia and Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford.
- Lavan, L. 2008. 'The Monumental Streets of Sagalassos in Late Antiquity: an interpretative study', in P. Ballet, N. Dieudonné-Glad & C. Saliou (eds.), *La rue dans l'Antiquité: définition, aménagement, devenir*, Rennes, 201-14.
- Lavan, L. & Gering, A. 2009. *Kent-Berlin Ostia Excavations*, <http://lateantiqueostia.wordpress.com> (accessed 10 Aug 09).
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford (Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith, *La production de l'espace* [1974]).
- . 1996. *Writings on Cities*, Oxford (Translated and Edited by E. Kofman & E. Lebas)
- . 2003. *The Urban Revolution*, London (Translated by R. Bononno = *La Révolution Urbaine* [1970]).
- . 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, London (Translated by S. Elden & G. Moore = *Éléments de rythmanalyse* [1992]).
- Lega, C. 1999. 's.v. vicus Pallacinae', in *LTUR* IV (P-S), 51-2.
- Lim, R. 1999. 'People as power: games, munificence, and contested topography', in W.V. Harris (ed.), *The Transformation of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*. *JRA Supp.* 33, 265–81.
- Ling, R. 1990. 'A Stranger in Town: Finding the Way in the Ancient City', *G&R* 37, 204-14.
- . 1997. *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii I: The Structures*, Oxford.
- . 2005. Street fountains and house fronts at Pompeii, in S.T.A.M. Mols & E.M. Moormann (eds.), *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele* (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 9), Naples, 271-6
- . 2007. 'Development of Pompeii's public landscape in the Roman period', in J.J. Dobbins & P.W. Foss (eds.) *The World of Pompeii*, London, 119-28.
- Lomas, K. 1997. 'The idea of a city: élite ideology and the evolution of urban form in Italy', in H.M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City*, London, 21-41.
- Lott, J.B. 2004. *The Neighbourhoods of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge.

- Lugli, G. 1946. *Roma Antica. Il centro monumentale*, Rome.
- Lusnia, S. 2004. 'Urban Planning and Sculptural Display in Severan Rome: Reconstructing the Septizodium and its Role in Dynastic Politics', *AJA* 108, 517–44.
- Lynch, K. 1960. *The Image of the City*, Massachusetts.
- Macaulay Lewis, E. 2007. *The City in Motion: movement and space in Roman architecture and gardens from 100 BC to AD 150*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford.
- . forthcoming 2011. 'The city in motion: locating walking for leisure in the city of Rome', in R. Laurence & D.J. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia and Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford.
- MacDonald, W.L. 1986. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, vol. II: An Urban Appraisal*, New Haven.
- Maetzke, G. 1991. 'Struttura stratigrafica dell'area nordoccidentale del Foro Romano', *AMediev* 18, 43–200.
- MacMullen, R. 1980. 'How Many Romans Voted?', *Athenaeum* 58, 454–7.
- Maffei, S. 1995. 'Forum Traiani: columna', in *LTUR II (D–G)*, Rome, 356–9.
- Maiuri, A. 1942. *L'ultimate fase edilizia di Pompei*, Naples.
- . 1973. *Alla ricerche Pompei preromana: saggi stratigrafici*, Naples.
- Malmberg, S. 2009. 'Finding your way in the Subura', in M. Driessen, S. Heeren, J. Hendriks, F. Kemmers & R. Visser (eds.) *TRAC 2008: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Amsterdam 2008*. Oxford, 39–52.
- Manacorda, D. & Zanini, E. 1989. 'The First Millenium in Rome: from the *Porticus Minucia* to the via delle Botteghe Oscure', in K. Randsborg (ed.), *The Birth of Europe: Archaeology and Social Development in the First Millenium A.D.*, (*ARID* Supp. 16), 25–32.
- Mar, R. 1991. 'La formazione dello spazio urbano nella città di Ostia', *RM* 98, 81–109.
- . 2008. 'Il traffico viario a Ostia. Spazio pubblico e progetto urbano', in D. Mertens (ed.), *Stadtverkehr in der Antiken Welt/ Traffico Urbano nel Mondo Antico*, *Palilia* 13, 125–44.
- Mari, Z. 1996. 'Miliarium Aureum', in *LTUR III (H–O)*, 250–1.
- Martelli, A. 2002. 'Per una nuova lettura dell'iscrizione Vetter 61 nel contesto del santuario di Apollo a Pompei', *Eutopia* 2, 71–81.
- Marucchi, O. 1883. *Descrizione del Foro Romano e guida per la visita dei suoi monumenti*, Rome.
- . 1906. *The Roman Forum and the Palatine according to the latest discoveries*, Rome.
- Mau, A. 1899 *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, London.
- Mavrojanis, T. 1995. 'L'aedicula dei *Lares Compitales* nel *Compitum* degli *Hermaistai* à Delo', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 119, 89–123.
- Mazurek, T. 1997. 'Self-Parody and the Law in Horace's "Satires" 1.9', *CJ* 93, 1–17.

- McEwen, I.K. 2004. *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*, Massachusetts.
- Meiggs, R. 1973. *Roman Ostia*, 2nd edition, Oxford.
- Meneghini, R. 1996. 'Templum Divi Traiani', *BullCom* 97, 47–88.
- . 1998. 'Il Foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale', *RM* 108, 245–66.
- . 2003. 'Indagini archeologiche lungo l'area perimetrale dei Mercati di Traiano: settori settentrionale e orientale (scavi 1989-1997)', *BullCom* 104, 219-34.
- Meneghini, R. & Santangeli Valenzani, R. 2007. *I Fori Imperiali: gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991–2007)*, Rome.
- Meneghini, R. & Santangeli Valenzani, R. forthcoming 2010. *Scavi dei Fori Imperiali. Il Foro di Augusto (L'area centrale)*, Rome.
- Millar, F. 1998. *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, Ann Arbor.
- Morselli, C. & Tortorici, E. 1989. *Curia, Forum Iulium, Forum Transitorium*, Rome.
- Morstein-Marx, R. 2004. *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic*, Cambridge.
- Mouritsen, H. 2001. *"Plebs" and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*, Cambridge.
- . 2004. 'Pits and Politics: interpreting colonial fora in Republican Italy' *PBSR* 72, 37-67.
- Najbjerg, T. 2002. 'A reconstruction of and reconsideration of the so-called Basilica in Herculaneum', in *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, & the Herculaneum "Basilica"*, *JRA Supp.* 47, 122–65.
- Nappo, S.C. 1989. 'Fregio dipinto dal 'praedium' di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro in Pompeii', *RStPomp* 3, 79-96.
- Nash, E. 1968. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols. Rome.
- Newsome, D.J. 2005. *Ostia Antica: Spatial Structure and Social Dynamics (preliminary investigations in a major Roman port)*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of York.
- . 2008. '"Traffic" and "congestion" in Rome's empire', *JRA* 21, 442-6.
- . 2009a. 'Centrality in its Place: Defining Urban Space in the City of Rome', in M. Driessen, S. Heeren, J. Hendriks, F. Kemmers & R. Visser (eds.) *TRAC 2008: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Amsterdam 2008*. Oxford, 25–38.
- . 2009b. 'Traffic, Space and Legal Change around the Casa del Marinaio at Pompeii (VII 15.1-2)', *BABesch* 84, 121-42.
- . 2009c. 'Review of Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2007, *I Fori Imperiali: Gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991-2007)*', *Rosetta* 6 (<http://rosetta.bham.ac.uk/issue6/i-fori-imperiali>).
- . forthcoming 2010. 'Negotiating Space: the real estate of the imperial fora', *Facta: A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies* 4.

- . forthcoming 2011a. ‘Themes: Architecture’, in A. Gardner, M. Lake & U. Strommer (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Theory*, Oxford.
- . forthcoming 2011b. ‘Movement and fora: from shortcuts to obstacles’, in R. Laurence & D.J. Newsome (eds.) *Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford.
- Nicolet, C. 1987. ‘La Table d’Héraclée et les origins du cadastre romain’, in *L’Urbs: espace urbaine et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rome, 1-25.
- . 1991. *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor (Translated by H. Leclerc, *L’Inventaire du Monde: Géographie et Politique aux Origines de L’Empire Romain* [1988]).
- Nielsen, I. 1990. ‘The Forum Paving and the Temple of Castor and Pollux’, *AnalRom* 19, 89–104.
- Nielsen, I. & Poulsen, B. (eds.) 1992. *The Temple of Castor and Pollux, I: The pre-Augustan temple phases with related decorative elements*, Rome.
- Nissen, H. 1877. *Pompeianische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums*, Leipzig.
- Noreña, C.F. 2003. ‘Medium and Message in Vespasian’s *Templum Pacis*’, *MAAR* 48, 25-43.
- . 2007. ‘The Social Economy of Pliny’s Correspondence with Trajan’, *AJP* 128: 239-77.
- Nussdorfer, L. 1987. ‘The Vacant See: Ritual and Protest in Early Modern Rome’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, 173-89.
- Ohr, K. 1988. *Die Basilika in Pompeji*, Berlin.
- O’Neill, K. 2000. ‘Propertius 4.2: Slumming With Vertumnus’, *AJP* 121, 259-77.
- O’Sullivan, T.M. 2006. ‘The Mind in Motion: Walking and Metaphorical Travel in the Roman Villa’, *CPh* 101, 133–52.
- . 2007. ‘Walking With Odysseus: The Portico Frame of the Odyssey Landscapes’, *AJP* 128, 497–532.
- Packer, J.E. 1997a. ‘Report from Rome: The Imperial Fora, a Retrospective’, *AJA* 101, 307–30.
- . 1997b. *The Forum of Trajan in Rome. A Study of the Monuments volume I*, Rome.
- . 2003. ‘Templum Divi Traiani Parthici Et Plotinae. A debate with R. Meneghini’, *JRA* 16, 109–36.
- Paden, R. 2001. ‘The two professions of Hippodamus of Miletus’, *Philosophy and Geography* 4, 25-48.
- Palombi, D. 1997a. *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino: Velia, Carinae, Fagutal. Storia urbana di tre quartieri di Roma antica*, Rome.
- . 1997b. ‘*Aedes deum Penatium* in Velia: Note di topografia e storia’, *RM* 104, 435-63.
- . 2005a. ‘Morfologia, toponomastica e viabilità prima dei Fori Imperiali’, in X. Lafon & G. Sauron (eds.) *Théorie et Pratique de l’Architecture Romaine. Études offertes à Pierre Gros*. Aix-en Provence, 81–92.

- . 2005b. 'Paesaggio storico e paesaggio di memoria nell'area dei Fori Imperiali', in R. Neudecker & P. Zanker (eds.), *Lebenswelten. Bilder und Räume in der Römischen Stadt der Kaiserzeit*, *Palilia* 16, 21–37.
- . 2007. 'FUR, fr. 18a [--]astoris: una lettura alternativa', in A. Leone, D. Palombi & S. Walker (eds.) *Res Bene Gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*, *LTUR Supp.* IV, Rome, 279-91.
- Panella, C. 1998. 'Valle del Colosseo, Area della *Meta Sudans*', in L. Drago Troccoli (ed.), *Scavi e ricerche archeologiche dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza"*, Rome, 43–50.
- Papi, E. 2002. 'La turba inopia: artigiani e commercianti del Foro Romano e dintorni (I sec. a.C. – 64 d.C.)', *JRA* 15, 45–62.
- Pappalardo, U. & Capuano, E. 2006. 'Immagini della città nella pittura romana: visioni fantastiche o realtà architettoniche?', in L. Haselberger & J. Humphrey (eds.) *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation – Visualization – Imagination*. *JRA Supp.* 61, 75-90.
- Parslow, C.C. 1995. 'The 'forum frieze' of Pompeii and its archaeological context', in H.B. Evans & M.T. Boatwright (eds.) *The Shapes of City Life in Rome and Pompeii: Essays in Honour of L. Richardson Jr on the occasion of his retirement*, New York,
- Patterson, J.R. 1992. 'The City of Rome: from Republic to Empire', *JRS* 82, 186-215.
- . 2006. *Landscapes and Cities: Rural Settlement and Civic Transformations in Early Imperial Italy*, Oxford.
- Patterson, R. 1997. 'What Vitruvius Said', *The Journal of Architecture* 2, 355-73.
- Pedley, J.G. 1990. *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy*, London.
- Perrin, Y. 2003. 'Aux marches du palais: les accès au Palatium de 54 à 70', in L. de Blois *et al.* (eds.) *The Representation and Perception of Imperial Power: Proceedings of the third Workshop of the international network "Impact and Empire (Roman Empire, c.200 B.C. – A.D. 476)"*, *Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20-23, 2002*. Amsterdam, 358-75.
- Perring, D. 1991. 'Spatial organisation and social change in Roman towns', in J. Rich & A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, London, 273–93.
- Piranomonte, M. & Capodiferro, A. 1988. 'Indagini intorno al Vicus ad Carinas', *Arch. Laz.* 9, 82-9.
- Pisani Sartorio, G. 1988. 'Compitum larum: Edicole sacre nei crocicchi di Roma antica', *Bollettino della Unione Storia ed Arte* 1-4, 23-34.
- Platner, S.B. & Ashby, T. 1929. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford.
- Poehler, E.E. 2006 'The Circulation of Traffic in Pompeii's Regio VI', *JRA* 19, 53-74.
- Prior, R.E. 1996. 'Going Around Hungry: Topography and Poetics in Martial 2.14', *AJP* 117, 121-41.
- Purcell, N. 1993. 'Atrium Libertatis', *PBSR* 61, 125–55.
- . 1995a. 'Forum Romanum (Republican Period)', in *LTUR* II (D–G), 325–36.
- . 1995b. 'Forum Romanum (Imperial Period)', in *LTUR* II (D–G), 336–42.

- . 2007. 'Urban Spaces and Central Places: The Roman World', in S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne (eds.), *Classical Archaeology*, Oxford, 182–202.
- Radice, B. 1968. *Pliny, Letters: Books 8-10 and Panegyricus*, Harvard.
- Raper, R.A. 1977. 'The Analysis of the Urban Structure of Pompeii: a sociological study of land use', in D. Clarke (ed.), *Spatial Archaeology*, London, 189–221.
- . 1979. 'Pompeii, planning and social implications', in B.C. Burnham & J. Kingsbury (eds.), *Space, Hierarchy and Society: interdisciplinary studies in social area analysis* (BAR International Series 59), Oxford, 137–48.
- Rea, J.A. 2007. *Legendary Rome. Myth, Monuments, and Memory on the Palatine and Capitoline*, London.
- Rebert, H.F. 1925. 'The Velia: A Study in Historical Topography', *TAPA* 56, 54–69.
- Richardson, L. jr. 1978a. 'Concordia and Concordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii', *PastPres* 33, 260–72.
- . 1978b. 'The Curia Iulia and the Janus Geminus', *RM* 85, 359–69.
- . 1980. 'The Approach to the Temple of Saturn in Rome', *AJA* 84, 51–62.
- . 1988. *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, Baltimore.
- . 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore.
- Riggsby, A.M. 2009. 'Space', in A. Feldherr (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*, Cambridge, 152–65.
- Rizzo, S. 2001. 'Indagini nei fori imperiali. Oroidrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templum Pacis', *RM* 108, 215–44.
- Robinson, O.F. 1992. *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration*, London.
- Rodríguez-Almeida, E. 1982–83. 'Riflessi di Roma in due epigrammi di M. Valerio Marziale', *BullCom* 88, 87–98.
- . 2002. *Formae Urbis Antiquae: le mappe marmoree di Roma tra la Repubblica e Settimio Severo*, Rome.
- . 2003. *Terrarum dea gentiumque: Marziale e Roma; un poeta e la sua città*, Rome.
- Rudofsky, B. 1969. *Streets for People*, New York.
- Russell Forbes, S. 1892. *Rambles in Rome: An Archaeological and Historical Guide to the Museums, Galleries, Villas, Churches and Antiquities of Rome and the Campagna*, London.
- Rykwert, J. 1976. *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*, Massachusetts.
- Sale, K. 1980. *Human Scale*, London.
- Salomies, O. 2003. 'A study of *CIL* XIV 375, an interesting inscription from Ostia', *Arctos* 37, 133–57.

- Saunier, P. 1998. 'Center and Centrality in the Nineteenth Century: Some Concepts of Urban Disposition Under the Spot of Locality', *Journal of Urban History* 24: 435–67.
- Shields, R. 1999. *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*, London.
- Sofroniew, A.K.T. 2006. '“Turba”: Latin' in J.T. Schnapp & M. Tiews (eds.), *Crowds*, Stanford, 30–4.
- Soja, E.W. 1989. *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory*, London and New York.
- . 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Oxford.
- Spencer, D.J. 2007. 'Rome at a Gallop: Livy, on not gazing, jumping or toppling into the void', in D.H.J. Larmour & D.J. Spencer (eds.) *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory*, Oxford, 61–101.
- . forthcoming 2011. 'Movement and the Linguistic Turn in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*', in R. Laurence & D.J. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford.
- Stambaugh, J.E. 1988. *The Ancient Roman City*, Baltimore.
- Stamper, J.W. 2005. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: the Republic to the Middle Empire*, Cambridge.
- Steinby, E.M. 1989. 'Il frammento 18a della *Forma Urbis Romae*', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lacus Iuturnae I*, Rome, 24–33.
- . 1993–2000 (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols, Rome.
- Stek, T.D. 2008. 'A Roman cult in the Italian countryside? The *Compitalia* and the shrines of the *Lares Compitales*', *BABesch* 83, 111–32.
- Stenton, A. 2007. 'Spatial Stories: Movement in the City and Cultural Geography', in C. Brant & S.E. Whyman (eds.), *Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London: John Gay's Trivia (1716)*, London, 62–73.
- Stewart, P. 2003. *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, Oxford.
- Stöger, H. 2007. 'Monumental Entrances of Roman Ostia: Architecture with Public Associations and Spatial Meaning', *BABesch* 82, 347–63.
- . 2009. 'Clubs and Lounges at Roman Ostia: The Spatial Organisation of a Boomtown Phenomenon (Space Syntax Applied to the Study of Second Century AD 'Guild Buildings' at a Roman Port Town)', in D. Koch, L. Marcus & J. Steen (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th International Space Syntax Symposium*, Stockholm (108).
- . forthcoming 2010. *Roman Ostia: Society and Urban Infrastructure during the 2nd century A.D.*, PhD Thesis, Universiteit Leiden.
- Sumi, G.S. 2009. 'Monuments and Memory: The *Aedes Castoris* in the Formation of Augustan Ideology', *CQ* 59, 167–86.
- Tagliamonte, G. 1995. 'Forum Romanum (fino alla prima età Repubblicana)', in *LTUR* II (D–G), Rome, 313–25.
- Tarpin, M. 2002. *Vici et pagi dans l'Occident romain*, Rome.

- Taub, L. 1993. 'The Historical Function of the *Forma Urbis Romae*', *Imago Mundi* 45, 9–19.
- Taylor, L.R. & Holland, L.A. 1952. 'Janus and the *Fasti*', *CP* 47, 137–42.
- Taylor, R. 2002. 'Temples and Terracottas at Cosa', *AJA* 106, 59–83.
- Terrenato, N. 1992. 'Velia and Carinae: some observations on an area of Archaic Rome', in E. Herring, R. Whitehouse & J. Wilkins (eds.), *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology*, London, 31–48.
- Thomas, E.V. 2007a. *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*. Oxford.
- . 2007b. 'Metaphor and identity in Severan architecture: the Septizodium between reality and fantasy', in S. Swain, S. Harrison & J. Elsner (eds) *Severan Culture*, Cambridge, 327–67.
- Thommen, L. 1995. 'Les lieux de la plèbe et de ses tribunes dans la Rome républicaine', *Klio* 77, 358–70.
- Tomei, M.A. & Liverani, P. (eds.) 2005. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae Supplementum I.1. Carta archeologica di Roma. Primo quadrante*, Rome.
- Torelli, M. 1992. *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, Michigan.
- Tortorici, E. 1991. *Argiletum: commercio speculazione edilizia e lotta politica dall'analisi topografia di un quartiere di Roma di età repubblicana*, Rome.
- . 1993. '“La Terrazza domiziana”, l'aqua Marcia ed il taglio della sella tra Campidoglio e Quirinale', *BullCom* 95, 7–24.
- Trifilò, F. 2008. 'Power, Architecture and Community in the Distribution of Honorary Statues in Roman Public Space', in C. Fenwick, M. Wiggins and D. Wythe (eds.) *TRAC 2007: Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2007*. Oxford, 109–20.
- . 2009. *The social production and social construction of Roman public space. Creation and change in two fora of Trajanic foundation*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Birkbeck, University of London.
- Trimble, J. 2007. 'Visibility and Viewing on the Severan Marble Plan', in S. Swain, S. Harrison & J. Elsner (eds) *Severan Culture*, Cambridge, 368–84.
- Tsujimura, S. 1991. 'Ruts in Pompeii: The traffic system in the Roman City', *Opuscula Pompeiana* 1, 58–90.
- Tucci, P.L. 2004. 'Eight fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome shedding new light on Transtiberim', *PBSR* 72, 185–202.
- . 2006. 'L'Arx Capitolina: tra mito e realtà', in L. Haselberger & J. Humphrey (eds.), *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation–Visualization–Imagination*. *JRA* Supp. 61, Portsmouth: RI, 63–73.
- . 2008. 'Galen's storeroom, Rome's libraries, and the fire of A.D. 192', *JRA* 21, 133–49.
- Ulrich, R.B. 1993. 'Julius Caesar and the Creation of the Forum Iulium', *AJA* 97, 49–80.
- Ungaro, L. 2005. 'I Mercati di Traiano: aspetti funzionali e strutture', *BullCom* 104, 205–18.

- van Deman, E.B. 1922 'The Sullan Forum', *JRS* 12, 1-31.
- . 1923. 'The Neronian Sacra Via', *AJA* 27, 383-424.
- van der Meer, L.B. 2002. 'Travertine Cornerstones in Ostia Antica: Odd Blocks', *AJA* 106, 575-80.
- van der Meer, L.B. & Stevens, N.L.C. 2000. 'Tiburtinus Lapis: the use of travertine in Ostia', *BABesch* 75, 169-95.
- van Tilburg, C.R. 2007. *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, London.
- . 2008. 'Gates, Suburbs and Traffic in the Roman Empire', *BABesch* 83, 133-47.
- Vasaly, A. 1993. *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*, Berkeley.
- Ventura Villanueva, A. 2006. 'El "Forum Augustum": reflexiones sobre su configuración arquitectónica y su funcionalidad judicial (a propósito de la "Basilica Antoniarum Duarum")', *Romula* 5, 59-84.
- von Blanckenhagen, P. 1940. *Flavische Architektur und ihre Dekoration*, Berlin.
- von Gerkan, A. 1940. 'Die republikanische Stadtmauer zwischen dem Kapitol und dem Quirinal', *RM* 55, 1-35.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1982. 'Civilis Princeps: between citizen and king', *JRS* 72, 32-48.
- . 1990. 'Roman Arches and Greek Honours: the language of power at Rome', *PCPS* 31, 143-81.
- . 1995. 'Public Honour and Private Shame: The Urban Texture of Pompeii', in T.J. Cornell & K. Lomas (eds.) *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, London, 39-62.
- . 1998. 'Horti and Hellenization', in M. Cima & E. La Rocca (eds.) *Horti Romani: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma, 4-6 Maggio 1995*, Rome, 1-12.
- . 2003. 'The Streets of Rome as a Representation of Imperial Power', in L. de Blois *et al.* (eds.) *The Representation and Perception of Imperial Power: Proceedings of the third Workshop of the international network "Impact and Empire (Roman Empire, c.200 B.C. – A.D. 476)"*, Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20-23, 2002. Amsterdam, 189-206.
- . 2008. *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge.
- Wallat, K. 1993. 'Opus Testaceum in Pompeii', *RM* 100, 354-82
- . 1995. 'Die Zustand des forums von Pompeji am Vorabend des Vesuvausbruchs 79n.Chr', in T. Fröhlich & L. Jacobelli (eds), *Archäologie und Seismologie. La regione Vesuviana dal 62 al 79 d.C. Problemi archeologici e sismologici. Colloquium Boscoreale, 26-27 November 1993*, Munich, 75-92.
- . 1997. *Die Ostseite des forum von Pompeji*, Frankfurt.
- Ward-Perkins, J.B. 1974. *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity*, New York.
- Wataghin Cantino, G. 1966. *Domus Augustana, personalità e problemi dell'architettura Flavia*, Turin.

- Watkin, D. 2009. *The Roman Forum*, London.
- Weiser, B. 2003. *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, Woodbridge.
- Welch, K.E. 2005. 'Introduction', in S. Dillon & K.E. Welch (eds.), *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge, 1-26.
- . 2007. *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum*, Cambridge.
- Welch, T.S. 2005. *The Elegiac Cityscape: Propertius and the Meaning of Roman Monuments*, Columbus, OH.
- Westall, R. 1996. 'The Forum Iulium as Representation of Emperor Caesar', *RM* 103, 83–118.
- Westfall, C.W. 2007. 'Urban planning, roads, streets and neighbourhoods', in J.J. Dobbins & P.W. Foss (eds) *The World of Pompeii*. London, 129-39.
- Whyte, W.H. 1980. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, Washington.
- . 1981. *City Spaces, Human Places*, Boston.
- Wiseman, T.P. 1980. 'Looking for Camerius: The Topography of Catullus 55', *PBSR* 48, 6-16.
- . 1987. 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the late Republic and early Empire', in *L'Urbs: espace urbaine et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rome, 393–413.
- . 2004. 'Where was the *Nova Via*?', *PBSR* 72, 167-83.
- . 2007a. 'Where was the *porta Romanula* ?', *PBSR* 75, 231-7.
- . 2007b. 'Three notes on the triumphal route', in A. Leone, D. Palombi & S. Walker (eds.) *Res Bene Gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*, *LTUR* Supp. IV, Rome, 445–9.
- . 2008. *Unwritten Rome*, Exeter.
- . 2009. 'The House of Augustus and the Lupercal', *JRA* 22, 527-45.
- Wunderlick, F.M. 2008. 'Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space', *Journal of Urban Design* 13: 125-39.
- Yegül, F.K. 1994. 'The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesus', in Z. Çelik, D. Favro & R. Ingersoll (eds.), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, Berkeley, 121–41.
- Zanker, P. 1988. *Pompeji: Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform*, Mainz.
- . 1990. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor (Translated by A. Shapiro).
- . 2002. 'Domitian's palace on the Palatine and the imperial image', in A.K. Bowman, H.M. Cotton, M. Goodman and S. Price (eds.), *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 114: 105–30.
- Zeggio, S. 2005. 'Roma, Valle del Colosseo, Scavo dell'area della Meta Sudans (1996-2002). Spazi urbani e storia', in P. Attema, A. Nijboer & A. Zifferero (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology VI* (BAR International Series 1452 (I)), Oxford, 269-77.

- Zeggio, S. & Pardini, G. 2007. 'Roma – Meta Sudans. I monumenti. Lo scavo. La storia', *FOLD&R* 2007, 99.
- Zevi, F. 2004. 'P. Lucilio Gamala *senior*: un riepilogo trent'anni dopo', in A. Gallina Zevi & J. Humphrey (eds.) *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts & The Economy. Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, *JRA Supp.* 57, 47–67.
- Ziółkowski, A. 1989. 'The *sacra via* and the temple of Iuppiter Stator', *Opuscula Romana* 17, 225-40.
- . 1993. 'Between Geese and the Auguraculum: The Origin of the Cult of Juno on the Arx', *Classical Philology* 88, 206-19.
- . 1996. 'Of Streets and Crossroads: The Location of the Carinae', *MAAR* 41, 121–51.
- . 2004. *The Sacra Via: Twenty Years After*, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 3, Warsaw.
- Zucker, P. 1955. 'Space and Movement in High Baroque City Planning', *JSAH* 14, 8–13.